Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-110
Thursday
10 June 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-110 *10 June 1993*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Energy Charter To Be Signed if Export Curbs Dropped *[SEGODNYA 8 Jun]* 1
NATO Naval Operations in Baltic Sea 1
Russian Ship Participates *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Lithuanian Frigate Taking Part *[Vilnius Radio]* 1
Computer Forum Held in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 5 Jun]* 2
Chernomyrdin Supports Western Development of Sakhalin Shelf *[Moscow International]* 2

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Sevastapol Residents Give Food to Black Sea Fleet *[ITAR-TASS]* 3
CIS Officers Unions Gather for Conference *[PRAVDA 8 Jun]* 3
Central Asia Academy Will Study Region's Peoples *[IZVESTIYA 8 Jun]* 3
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 10 Jun 3

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Trawler Missing in East China Sea After Possible Attack *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Trawler Seized by 'Chinese Military Launch' *[Moscow TV]* 5
PRC Law Enforcement Personnel Visit Khabarovsk *[Vladivostok Radio]* 5
U.S. Arms Initiative Said To Have 'Angered' Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 9 Jun]* 5
Alignment With U.S. Policy on Ukraine, Bosnia Criticized *[PRAVDA 9 Jun]* 6
Postponement of Chernomyrdin U.S. Visit Viewed *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 9 Jun]* 6
Deferment of START Ratification Debate Urged *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 9 Jun]* 7
U.S. 'Diktat' Seen in START Treaty *[PRAVDA 9 Jun]* 9
PRAVDA on Public Debate on START II *[9 Jun]* 11
First Document on U.S. Agricultural Aid Signed *[IZVESTIYA 8 Jun]* 12
Beneficial Terms, Impact of U.S. Grain Credit Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 9 Jun]* 12
Owen Cited on Russian Refusal To Police 'Safe Zones' *[IZVESTIYA 9 Jun]* 13
Developments Regarding Ukrainian Nuclear Arms Analyzed *[KURANTY 9 Jun]* 13
Vorobyev, Emergency Situations Delegation Leave for Georgia *[Radio Rossii]* 14
Kozyrev Optimistic About Karabakh, Not Abkhazia *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Karabakh Authorities Ready To Extradite Russian Pilot *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Lithuanian Claim To Pay Russian Vets' Pensions Refuted *[PRAVDA 8 Jun]* 14
Deputy Prime Minister Fedorov Visits Bulgaria 14
Economic Agreements Signed *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Talks Described as Mutually Beneficial *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Sergey Yastrzhembskiy Named Slovak Ambassador *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 13 Jun]* 15
Consultative Group on Russia Opens in Paris 16
Shokhin on Handling Aid, Debt Issues *[IZVESTIYA 9 Jun]* 16
Aid Programs to Russia Discussed *[ITAR-TASS]* 17
Greek Ambassador on Yeltsin's Forthcoming Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 17
Warship Trapped in Cadiz by Spanish Fishermen's Strike *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Jun]* 18
Russian-French Space Crews Pass Final Tests *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
Khasbulatov Receives German Chief Editor *[Moscow Radio]* 18
Debris From ROK Plane Downed in 1983 Unearthed *[ITAR-TASS]* 18

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Constitutional Conference

Chernomyrdin 7 Jun Speech on Constitutional Process *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 9 Jun]* 19
Proceedings of 8 Jun Session Reported *[IZVESTIYA 9 Jun]* 20
Constitutional Conference Continues 9 Jun 20
Zorkin on Need for Accord *[Moscow TV]* 20
More on Yeltsin-Presidium Meeting *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
Yeltsin on Arbitration Commission *[Russian TV]* 21
Civic Union Urges New Elections *[Russian TV]* 21
Khasbulatov on Role of Conference *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
Yeltsin Plans No 'Illegitimate' Steps *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
Yeltsin Reportedly Calls For 'Inquiry' *[Russian TV]* 22
Agenda for 10 Jun Conference Reported *[Radio Rossii]* 22
Khasbulatov 'Suddenly Unwell' *[ITAR-TASS]* 22
Implications of Conference Walkout Viewed *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 8 Jun]* 22
Yeltsin 5 Jun Conference Report Viewed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 9 Jun]* 23
Gaydar Criticizes Both Draft Constitutions *[KURANTY 9 Jun]* 24

Political Issues

Government To View Idea of 'Current Issues' Panel *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 9 Jun]* 24
Shaposhnikov Reportedly To Head Security Council *[Moscow TV]* 25
Reshuffles in Yeltsin Administration Seen Possible *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 10 Jun]* 25
New Yeltsin Aide Yuriy Baturin Profiled *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 9 Jun]* 25
More on Rutskoy Remarks to Moscow Soviet *[PRAVDA 10 Jun]* 26
New Centrist Bloc 'Marriage of Convenience' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 8 Jun]* 26
Possible Election Scenarios Viewed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 9 Jun]* 28

Military Issues

Grachev, Kolesnikov Attend Officers' Gathering *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Jun]* 30
Officer Cited on Corruption *[Russian TV]* 30
Defense Minister Addresses Personnel *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Jun]* 30
Grachev Addresses Assembly 10 Jun *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
Yeltsin Addresses Assembly *[Radio Rossii]* 31
Further on Yeltsin's Speech *[ITAR-TASS]* 32
Yeltsin Approves Draft Deferment for Artists *[Russian TV]* 32
Baltic Fleet To Reduce Size by 40% Over 18 Months *[Radio Rossii]* 32

Supreme Soviet

Parliament Debates Conference Issues 10 Jun *[Moscow Radio]* 33
Violation of Deputies Immunity Status Claimed *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
Constitutional Conference Proposed for July *[Moscow Radio]* 33
Khasbulatov 9 Jun Address on Constitution Issues *[Russian TV]* 34
Parliament Debate Over Taxation Viewed *[Moscow TV]* 37
Ambartsumov Briefs Press on Foreign Policy Issues *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 9 Jun]* 38

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Aide: Mordovian Problem Not Yet Settled *[ITAR-TASS]* 38
Mordovian Parliament Building Placed 'Under Siege' *[Russian TV]* 39
Mordovia Gas Pipeline 'Paralyzed' Following Explosion *[Moscow TV]* 39
Chernomyrdin Meets Maritime Kray Leadership *[Radio Rossii]* 39
Vorkuta Miners To Strike, Want To Meet Yeltsin *[IZVESTIYA 8 Jun]* 39
Oil Discovery Reported in Birobidjan *[Vladivostok Radio]* 40
Volgograd Nationalists, Communists Pressure Media *[IZVESTIYA 8 Jun]* 40
Ryazan Oil Refinery Facing Problems Due to Nonpayments *[Moscow TV]* 40

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Germany's Kohl Visits To Discuss Relations *[ITAR-TASS]* 41
Kravchuk Stresses Importance of Ties *[ITAR-TASS]* 41
Kohl Urges Kravchuk To Allow Nuclear Inspections *[Hamburg DPA]* 41
Further on Nuclear Arms, Economic Aid *[Berlin ADN]* 41
Kravchuk, Kohl Issue Press Statement *[Kiev International]* 41
'Principles of Relations' Declaration Signed *[ITAR-TASS]* 42
Kravchuk-Yeltsin Summit on Black Sea Fleet Postponed *[Moscow International]* 43
Russian Negotiator Explains Position on Fleet, Sevastopol *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 8 Jun]* 43
Cooperation Planned With Israel's Secret Service *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
French Armed Forces Chief of Staff Arrives *[Kiev International]* 44

National Affairs

Over 60 Donetsk Mines, Enterprises on Strike *[Kiev International]* 44
Miners Say Strike Due to Consumers' Debts *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 8 Jun]* 45
Donetsk Council Criticizes President *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
Trade Unions Decide on 'Pre-Strike Readiness' *[Kiev International]* 45
Kharkov Factory Workers Ready To Strike *[UNIAN]* 45
Vice Prime Minister Urges 'Almost Martial Law' *[UNIAN]* 45

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Kravchanka Sees 'No Alternative' to CIS *[Minsk Radio]* 47
Russian Ambassador Describes Bilateral Ties *[NARODNAYA GAZETA 20 May]* 47

Moldova

Snegur Sees Economy on 'Brink of Bankruptcy' *[BASAPRESS]* 48
Snegur Wants 'Urgent' Action Against Corruption *[PRAVDA 8 Jun]* 48
Romanian Envoy Views 'Special Importance' of Ties *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 48

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Talbott Expresses U.S. Readiness To Strengthen Ties *[ITAR-TASS]* 50
Nazarbayev Visits Eastern Kazakhstan *[Almaty Radio]* 50
Nazarbayev Decree, Resolution on New Council *[KAZTAG]* 50
Nazarbayev Guarantees Safety of Western Investments *[ITAR-TASS]* 51
Public Leader Urges Unity, Supports Reform *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 9 Jun]* 52
Pay Complaints Behind Troops' Actions at Baykonur *[PRAVDA 9 Jun]* 53

Tajikistan

Afghanistan Warned About Border 'Provocations' *[Dushanbe Radio]* 53
Pakistani, Saudi Military Said Training Opposition *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Jun]* 54
Komarov Gorge Liberated; Opposition Leader Escapes *[ITAR-TASS]* 54
Interior Ministry Denounces Amnesty International Report *[ITAR-TASS]* 54

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Kozyrev, Barannikov Talk With Ter-Petrosyan *[ITAR-TASS]* 55
Papazyan 'Optimistic' About Karabakh Settlement *[ITAR-TASS]* 55

Karabakh Official on CSCE Plan, Gyandzha Events *[Yerevan International]* 55
Defense Ministry 'Worried' Over Azerbaijan *[Yerevan International]* 55

Azerbaijan

Baku Welcomes CSCE, U.S. Initiative on Karabakh *[ITAR-TASS]* 56
People's Front Supporters Surround Parliament *[Ankara Radio]* 56
Supporters Disperse *[Ankara TV]* 56
New Commission To Investigate Gyandzha Incidents *[ITAR-TASS]* 56

Georgia

Further on Visit by Kozyrev, Barannikov, Others 56
Shevardnadze Satisfied With Talks *[Tbilisi Radio]* 56
Kozyrev Proposes 'Trilateral' Group *[ITAR-TASS]* 57
Shevardnadze, Barannikov Assess Talks *[Tbilisi Radio]* 57
Kozyrev Meets Abkhazia's Ardzinba *[ITAR-TASS]* 57
Kozyrev, Chikvaidze Discuss Abkhazia *[Tbilisi Radio]* 58
Shevardnadze Informs Deputies on Talks *[Tbilisi Radio]* 58
Chikvaidze Summons Russian Envoy Over Abkhazia *[Moscow Radio]* 58

Energy Charter To Be Signed if Export Curbs Dropped

MK0806111093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 23, 8 Jun 93 (signed to press 7 Jun) p 3

[Rustam Khaldukov report under the "Talks" rubric: "Russia Alters Stance on Energy Charter. EC International Seminar Ends in Moscow"]

[Text] A three-day international seminar, "Legislation and Its Regulation in the Field of Russia's Energy Complex," held in Moscow's Penta hotel discussed a draft Reference Agreement for the European Energy Charter. The Charter, signed by 50 countries on 17 December 1991 in The Hague, is a declaration of intent in the area of international trade, investments in the fuel and energy complex, transit of power resources, dispute settlement procedure, and environmental protection. The charter will acquire legal force only after the signing of the Reference Agreement that sets out legal terms for its realization. Russian officials have demonstrated their readiness to abide by the European Energy Charter provisions from the start. For Russia, the signing of the Reference Agreement would mean, on one hand, easier access to Europe's energy market, and a solution to the problem of transit of energy (primarily of gas) across the territories of other states; on the other hand, more foreign investments in the fuel and energy complex. A number of Russian experts, however, think that the signing of the Charter would not necessarily be followed by an influx of foreign investments into Russia.

Russian delegation member Yuriy Yershov, who defended the European Energy Charter with fervor, stated at one time that, for the sake of being a party to it, Russia will find it necessary to go even as far as to "part with 20-50 percent of oil and gas produced at the newly developed fields" in payment for the participation of foreign capital.

Yershov's position was already different at the Moscow conference. Never denying the interest of Russian representatives in the European Energy Charter, he observed at the same time that Russia may decline to sign the Reference Agreement should the EC fail to grant it nondiscriminatory trading treatment. Mr. Yershov noted that Russia is losing between $1 and $3 billion a year (validity of these figures is doubtful because they diverge too widely—R.Kh.) owing to restrictions on imports of goods to Europe, including in this number $150 million due to limits on the export of uranium. This was confirmed by Valeriy Sorokin, one of the drafters of the European Energy Charter. According to him, European uranium producers are clamoring for the Charter not to cover trade in uranium, and this may serve as "one of the reasons for Russia to decline to sign the Reference Agreement. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Mr. Sorokin passed over in silence the other reasons, but they probably boil down to a general change in the foreign economic strategy of the Russian Federation, which in recent months has been putting strong pressure on the EC in the hope of ending discrimination against Russian exports. Attesting to this are repeated public statements by Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin and Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Sergey Glazyev.

NATO Naval Operations in Baltic Sea

Russian Ship Participates

LD0906162993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0908 GMT 9 Jun 93

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jun—The "Baltic Operation '93" navy exercises by multinational forces started today in the Baltic Sea. This is the traditional summer navy exercise of the NATO bloc in the Baltic, which has been carried out for 20 years now.

As reported to an ITAR-TASS correspondent at the Russian Navy's press center, for the first time a Russian patrol escort ship, the Bditelnyy, is also taking part in the exercises.

The ship is joining the participants in the exercises out at sea.

Russia's participation in these exercises implies that it is preparing to take part in the measures of the multinational forces under the aegis of the United Nations, including in crisis situations.

Lithuanian Frigate Taking Part

LD0806124193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] On the initiative of the U.S. Defense Department, the training exercises of European naval vessels are underway in the Baltic Sea. Here is Romas Jankauskas reporting:

[Jankauskas] Twelve ships from eight countries are taking part in the exercises. The countries are the United States, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia, and Lithuania. [only seven countries as heard]

The representatives from Latvia, Norway, and Estonia are present in the capacity of observers.

The Lithuanian Navy frigate S-11 is taking part in today's exercises. The captain of the vessel is Junior Lieutenent Arturas Aukstikalnis. Commander Raimondas Baltuska, commander in chief of the Lithuanian Navy, is general officer commanding the frigate S-11 crew in today's exercises.

The second Lithuanian frigate, S-12, will join the exercises two days later on 10 June. The captain of the frigate is Arturas Andriusaitis and the general officer commanding the crew of frigate S-12 will be Commander Lieutenent Vytautas Urba, chief of staff of the Lithuanian Navy.

The military exercises, which include joint exercises in maneuver and combat training without using weapons, will last for four days in the Baltic Sea. The experience in

saving sailors in the sea, pumping fuel from vessel to vessel on the sea, combating smuggling, and protecting the economic zone of the state will be shared .

After the exercises, one Navy vessel from the United States and six Navy vessels from Germany will pay a friendly visit to the port of Klaipeda on 12 June.

Computer Forum Held in Moscow

PM0806125593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Andrey Sveshnikov: "Computer Forum Gives Russia Access to Computer Culture"]

[Text] The fourth computer forum was held in Moscow on 1-4 June. Representatives of leading computer production and software companies discussed the state of the world and Russian computer markets.

The forum, which brought together about 50 foreign participants, examined problems of the question of the coexistence of IBM's OS/2 [operating system] and Microsoft's "Windows," the use of computers in business and privatization and the future of computer networks and the entire industry as a whole.

According to some estimates at least 2 million computers have been installed in Russia. Despite the rapid development of the computer market in our country, class 286 and 386 computers enjoy the greatest popularity, although in the West a number of large companies have already taken them out of production.

Today the world welcomes the arrival on the market of the U.S. "Intel" company's microchip—the "Pentium," on whose basis the 586 computer generation has been created. A number of foreign firms are already prepared to provide the last word in technology in Russia too, for instance Hewlett Packard, through its dealer "Cherus," is already taking orders for servers with the Pentium/60 mhz processor. This month the Compac company will present the 586 family in Moscow.

Within the framework of the event, the U.S. producer of the "Dell" personal computer, which is the second biggest-selling personal computer in the United States, and its Russian representative, "Intermicrobusiness systems," held a press conference at which the firm's strategy in Russia was announced. Because of the underdevelopment of the market, Dell, which is headed by its 28-year-old creator Michael Dell, has been obliged to abandon one of its main advantages—the system of direct sales and leasing. By the end of the year Intermicrobusiness systems plans to create a dealership network of 40 organizations in the CIS.

But despite the attention which the Western computer world is paying to Russia, Nikolay Mishustin, director of the international computer club, said, "our computer market still lacks culture" and firms in this country who assemble computers themselves from cheap components "merely aggravate the situation." Of our firms which have met with serious international recognition we can single out only the "ParaGraf" software producer, which is now creating a new version of its well known "Russkoye Slovo 3.0" spelling verifier.

The international computer club is a noncommercial organization which held the forum with support from the Zeos and Aeroflot firms, the WINDOWS magazine, and a number of others and it actively propagandizes the idea of a civilized market. "Basically we are geared to the U.S. market, which has good prices and, in contrast to Europe, less conservatism," Mikhail Mishustin noted. "It was largely thanks to the club that the Borland, Zeos, and Word Perfect companies came to the CIS."

But in Mishustin's opinion, in addition to the poor culture and underdevelopment of the market infrastructure and the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls barriers, the penetration of advanced technologies into the Russian market is being held up by the unstable political situation. "This year we planned to expand the forum and the exhibition held within its framework but the crisis of power cancelled out our initiatives," he complained.

Chernomyrdin Supports Western Development of Sakhalin Shelf

LD0906092393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Russia's Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has said his government will support the Western companies that will take part in developing oil and gas deposits on the shelf of the island of Sakhalin in the Far East. He gave the assurances when meeting with members of an oil consortium which includes the firms of Russia, the United States, Japan, and Holland. This is one of Russia's biggest projects with the participation of foreign capital.

Sevastapol Residents Give Food to Black Sea Fleet

LD0906173593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1200 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 9 June—Activists of Sevastopol's socio-patriotic organizations intend to deliver food collected by the town's inhabitants to those ships of the Black Sea Fleet that have raised the St. Andrews naval flag. The ITAR-TASS correspondent learned of this from informed military sources in Sevastopol.

The people of Sevatopol are giving this assistance to the Black Sea sailors in connection with the fact that, according to Ukrainian Defense Minister Colonel-General Konstatin Morozov's order 103, dated 20 May, all crews of ships and vessels of the Black Sea Fleet that have raised the flag of the Russian Navy have had all rations, pay, and allowances stopped.

CIS Officers Unions Gather for Conference

PM0906153193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 2

[Igor Saltykov report: "Officers' Word"]

[Text] There should be criticism without carping, and self-criticism without creeping. This was the warning addressed to comrades in arms by representatives of the CIS countries' officers unions, gathered for their first interrepublic conference. Envoys from Belarus, Latvia, Russia, Ukraine, and the Dniester region participated.

The analysis of the situation which has developed was a professional one and was therefore conducted behind closed doors. But the conclusions are being announced: The inertia destroying the country which developed during the perestroyka years is maintaining its force.

The adopted appeal to the homeland's defenders emphasizes that the recent referendum demonstrated that the president—the supreme commander in chief—had not secured unanimous support in the Army and Navy. Those who refused to give it were the uncorrupted and honest people who understand that this commander in chief has no use for a force which would defend Russia's interests.

Central Asia Academy Will Study Region's Peoples

PM0906155793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 8

[Shakhabutdin Zaynutdinov report: "Academy of Central Asia Set Up"]

[Text] Tashkent—A new international nongovernmental organization—the Academy of Central Asia—has been set up in Tashkent.

The people behind it are academicians from the Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russian, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan Academies of Sciences. They have pooled their efforts and plan to study, with an eye to the new realities, the scientific and cultural legacy of the region's peoples, linked as they have been by common roots from time immemorial; to facilitate the broadening of cooperation among peoples of kindred language, culture, customs, and traditions; and to promote peace, accord, and a stable situation in the vast area. The academy has gathered together men of science, technology, and education as well as representatives of political, religious, and international women's and youth organizations whose task is to resolve urgent scientific problems facing states that have historically collaborated with one another.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 10 Jun

LD1006062293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0600 GMT 10 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 10 ITAR-TASS—The press continues to comment actively on the work of the constitutional conference, which is under way in the Kremlin. ROSSIISKIYE VESTI, publication of the Russian Government, writes about the "dramatic" developments at the constitutional conference. It points out that the discussion there is especially acute over the prerogatives of federal authorities (especially the president and the parliament), the relationship between the centre and republics and regions, integrated in the Russian Federation, as well as between the constituent republics, on the one hand, and territories and regions, on the other.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA calls attention to the stand of President Yeltsin and that of chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov. The newspaper points out that "Yeltsin is satisfied so far with the work of the constitutional conference, while Khasbulatov is not. "Yeltsin described the work of the conference as professional," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes. [quotation marks as received] The president suggested the creation of a constitutional arbitration commission, to be made up of judges of the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court, as well as other professionals. The commission is needed for coordinating resolutions adopted by various sections, as well as for helping the coordinating working group.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA stresses that the voice of provinces is most prominent at the conference: they are putting in their own claims to the authorities. The discussion was especially heated over the problem of citizenship. The provinces are trying to introduce, using various arguments, the citizenship of regions, territories and republics in addition to the Russian citizenship common to all. "If this happens, it will be impossible to hold the country together," said Sergey Tsyplyaev, representative of the president for St. Petersburg.

Chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin has contributed an article to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, which deals with problems of the constitutional setup

and the formation of Russia's legal system. In his opinion, the current deep crisis can be overcome only by following the constitution and law. "By being trapped by radical-legal nihilism and putting forward the idea of adopting a new constitution, we are being drawn into the inflation process, which is no less dangerous than the monetary inflation we are already living through. The adoption of a new constitution alone, without removing the causes of the non-fulfilment of laws, will not change anything," Zorkin believes.

PRAVDA is pondering over possible consequences of the capitalisation of Russia. It writes that the wrecking of Russia's agriculture is mostly the result of the ill-considered policy of the authorities, aimed at the liquidation of collective-management agriculture. The main objective of the package of government resolutions on the land reform, adopted recently, was supposed to boost agricultural development, but actually they were aimed at eliminating collective farms which do not fall into the scheme of the "capitalisation of the country."

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI carries an article by deputy prime minister and minister of finance Boris Fedorov, in which he writes that "we can cope with inflation, if we pool our efforts in fighting it." He analyses possible ways of action aimed at ridding society of inflation, "this headache which is wearing people out." In his opinion, this can be done by changing the credit and monetary policy of the state, revising the poilicy in the sphere of taxation and crediting of regions and enterprises and liberalising the currency policy with the aim to "deepen and expand the currency market."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA raises the problem of manning Russia's Armed Forces. It writes that "the shortage of personnel is the most burning, the most acute of all problems facing the young Russian Army. Many platoons, battalions and regiments are manned by low- rank specialists only by half, and some of them even less than by half. This is a really serious problem for the Armed Forces. The shortage of personnel may trigger irreversible processes, specifically, the getting out of order of the control and communication systems, of military hardware." According to the newspaper, we got into a dangerous situation because of the fervour of populist decisions. It is high time we stopped and thought better of it.

Trawler Missing in East China Sea After Possible Attack

LD1006043393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0320 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Lents]

[Text] Vladivostok, 10 Jun—Another sad incident has been added to the long list of attacks on Russian ships in the southeast Asian seas. On the night of 9-10 June the Soyuz-4, a large freezer trawler of the Kamchatka ocean fishing base, on its way from Nakhodka to Singapore, disappeared without a trace in the East China Sea. There were 39 persons on board.

At about midnight the Soyuz's captain, Viktor Kulikov, radioed an SOS saying that an unknown warship was rapidly approaching the trawler with armed men on board. The Far East rescue coordination center, on receiving the SOS, immediately appealed to the Navy for help. In one hour two hydrographic vessels of the Pacific Ocean Fleet reached the place of the incident but neither the pirates nor the trawler were discovered. Now ships of the Pacific Ocean Fleet and ships of the Japanese rescue service are combing all the nearby sea areas in search of the missing Soyuz.

Trawler Seized by 'Chinese Military Launch'

LD1006122993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received the news that the Russian Soyuz-4 vessel that disappeared last night without a trace has, happily, been found. It was seized 120 miles from the Chinese coast by a Chinese military launch. Approximately 20 of the launch's crew, armed with automatic weapons, boarded the Russian vessel during the seizure. There is no news of casualties. The crew of the Soyuz-4 was rounded up into the crew's quarters, while the vessel itself was escorted to the roadstead of the Chinese Tutua-Nimbo naval base. No charges have been made against the vessel's crew. This is not the first piratical attack on Russian fishing boats by Chinese vessels. The Russian Federation's Committee for Fishing has resolutely protested and is demanding the vessel's release and the return home of the entire crew of 39, and also an apology for the illegal seizure of a Russian vessel.

PRC Law Enforcement Personnel Visit Khabarovsk

OW0906135793 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 8 June 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Workers from law enforcement organs from the Amur region and from the PRC province of Heilongjiang met in Khabarovsk. The objective of the visit by the Chinese colleagues is establishing contacts, working together to prevent and solve crimes, acquainting themselves with law enforcement in the Russian Far East, and exchanging information.

U.S. Arms Initiative Said To Have 'Angered' Moscow

PM0906143593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Sychev report: "Washington's Initiative on Nuclear Weapons Interested Kiev But Angered Moscow"]

[Text] The Ukrainian leadership has expressed an interest in the U.S. proposal for settling the problem of the 176 strategic nuclear missiles left on the republic's territory following the breakup of the USSR. U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin expounded it during his visit to Kiev.

The crux of the U.S. idea is that the missiles must be dismantled and stored temporarily on Ukrainian territory. At the same time they will be under direct international control. Subsequently—and Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov appears to agree with this—it is proposed to send the charges to Russia to extract the plutonium from them.

This could reduce the tension between the two largest republics of the former Soviet Union, removing fears about the possible use of the missiles by one of them.

The United States has not granted Ukraine the additional security guarantees on which Kiev is insisting. But the intermediary mission undertaken by Washington is designed to convince the Ukrainian leaders that they have a "great friend" and that they can abandon the warheads without sacrificing security.

Washington has backed up its hint with proposals to expand military contacts between the two states and to give assistance in building Ukraine's armed forces. Kiev's demand for an increase in the amounts of compensation (Washington has allocated $175 million for nuclear disarmament) will be studied.

Thus, Kiev has been given to understand that a compromise is possible on almost all the points of the conditions for nuclear disarmament laid down by Ukraine. This has enabled Aspin to take with him to Washington President Leonid Kravchuk's assurance that parliament will approve the republic's nonnuclear status within a month.

But Washington's concessions have elicited a harsh reaction from Moscow. On the eve of his visit to Kiev Aspin met in the FRG with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who rejected the idea of storing the missiles on Ukrainian territory. Moscow insists that the weapons be handed over to Russia, which is recognized as the sole heir to the Soviet nuclear arsenal. Grachev declared that Washington's version virtually preserves Ukraine's nuclear status and could prompt Kazakhstan

and, maybe, Belarus to renounce their adopted pledges to hand over to Russia for destruction the weapons they have ended up with.

Despite Grachev's objections, Aspin did not abandon his initiative (the talks will be continued in July, when Defense Minister Morozov arrives in the United States), evidently reckoning on changing Moscow's position during the Russian minister's return visit to the United States.

Alignment With U.S. Policy on Ukraine, Bosnia Criticized

PM1006092593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 7

[Article by diplomatic observer Sergey Svistunov: "Following Foreign Moccasin Tracks"]

[Text] North American Indians are past masters in crossing country unseen—they even practised the skill of walking in each other's footsteps, making it virtually impossible to determine how many warriors had passed by in a certain direction. Recently this art—of unswervingly following in the U.S. leader's moccasin tracks—has been mastered by the Russian Foreign Ministry. It is amazing how rapidly what was, until recently, not just an independent but a great power has lost its identity.

It seems that, winning promises from America but having to fly to the furthest corner of the globe at Russian taxpayer's expense, Minister Kozyrev has simply been unable to find any time to deal with our nearest neighbors—who are poor when it comes hard currency, but rich when it comes to conflicts. I think that it would be absurd to have to demonstrate how important good-neighborly relations with Ukraine are to Russia and how many unsolved, explosive problems remain in them. But A. Kozyrev, rather like an ostrich that naively hides from danger by sticking its head in the sand, first plunged his head in, showing the "Russian flag" in the sand dunes of the Arab emirates and sultanates, then going to cool off in the tiny and (unlike his own country) well-off states of Scandinavia. But he has avoided Kiev—the "mother of Russian cities"—as if he were a refugee from the Chernobyl zone.

Now, at the start of June, and having traveled halfway around the world, he has deigned to go to Kiev. But again, it seems, not of his own free will. Washington is exceptionally concerned about the Ukrainian leaders' public statements that they do not want to give up nuclear weapons. Prime Minister L. Kuchma's call at a Ukrainian parliamentary session for politicians to strive to "at least temporarily turn the republic into an independent nuclear power" sounded like an alarm bell ringing overseas—both THE WASHINGTON POST and THE NEW YORK TIMES commented on it on their front pages.

The B. Clinton administration is scratching its head to work out what new gifts and promises—officially termed a "package of economic and political initiatives in defense partnership with Ukraine"—can be used to make Kiev give up its nuclear arsenal. One of the options being elaborated is to propose that Ukraine be allowed to keep all the nuclear weapons currently sited there but to establish, in some form or another, joint (with the United States) or international control over them. The latter scenario would have to include Russia. That was why A. Kozyrev was asked to look into it. The same topic predominated during U.S. Defense secretary L. Aspin's visit to Ukraine.

It is not even worth mentioning Balkan policy—the Russian Foreign Ministry ship follows so blindly in the wake of the anti-Serb convoy that it is sometimes even late to change course when the squadron changes tack on a signal from the flagship. That was what happened with the Vance-Owen Plan. Trying cowboy-style to "put a squeeze" on the Serbs and bluffing like mad, Washington gave Belgrade and the R. Karadzic government in the Serb areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina an ultimatum—either you agree to carve up the republic as suggested by the British lord and the former U.S. secretary of state, or prepare to repel Western military intervention.

But the Serb parliament in Pale did not flinch and rejected the ultimatum. Striving to break out of the ranks of "hangers-on" to show that the United States has no more useful or reliable ally in Balkan affairs—where Russia still indeed enjoys a confidence that has been built up over the course of centuries—Kozyrev's department surged ahead, "pushing" the Vance-Owen Plan and twisting the Serbs' arms like mad.

Only it was doing so to no avail—Washington, without consulting with Moscow and without even deigning to inform it—decided that the militarist bluff in the Balkans had failed and switched to a more cautious policy that did not run the risk of turning into a "new Vietnam." And it turned out that the Russian battleship, not having been able to stop its engines in time, found itself in an absurd and shameful position. It continued to foist this terrible ultimatum on Belgrade, whereas the authors of the ultimatum had long since sounded the "retreat."

Such zeal is patently not sensible.

Postponement of Chernomyrdin U.S. Visit Viewed

PM0906161793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko report under "Executive Power: Monitoring" rubric: "Premier's Translantic Visit Postponed"]

[Text] The visit to the United States by Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, originally scheduled for 14-17 June, will take place a few days later. This is connected with the work of the Constitutional Conference, at which Viktor Stepanovich is cocordinator of the section of representatives of the federal organs of state power of the Russian Federation.

The transatlantic visit of the head of the Russian Government is intended to coincide with the opening in Washington of the first session of the Intergovernmental

Commission on Space and Power Engineering Cooperation Between Russia and the United States, which was established in Vancouver during Boris Yeltsin's meeting with Bill Clinton in April. Viktor Chernomyrdin also intends to visit Houston—center of the U.S. aerospace and oil and gas industries.

Deferment of START Ratification Debate Urged

PM0906115193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 7

[Article by Reserve Lieutenant Colonel Stanislav Kozlov, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, president of the Russian Association of Independent Military Scientists: "If You Weigh Things Up"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has started discussing the question of the ratification of the START II treaty. This procedure requires an extremely considered approach based primarily on expert assessments and research and development by specialists in various fields. It would be sad if the discussion was to be reduced to just another political confrontation between supporters and opponents of the president's policy, between "democrats" and "conservatives."

The difficulty of the situation associated with the ratification of the treaty boils down to two factors. First, the Supreme Soviet, unlike state structures, has virtually no qualified organizations or collectives of academics and practical specialists capable of formulating reliable and objective recommendations on this problem. The Defense and Foreign Ministries' participation in the preparation of the treaty rules out the possibility of involving these departments' institutes since their answer would be unambiguous—the START II treaty must be ratified. Second, the overwhelming majority of Supreme Soviet members are unable for perfectly understandable reasons (past experience, specialization) to work out all the treaty's largely technical subtleties. The corollary of this is a growing probability of them "drifting" toward attitudes of personal sympathy or antipathy toward a given set of politicians.

In my view, the way out is to involve academics and specialists from the independent scientific and science-and-production centers, associations, and other "think tanks" which have emerged in Russia in recent years. This is not a new idea in principle and has long been utilized abroad.

Assessments "for" and "against" the ratification of START II obtained by one such independent organization—the Russian Association of Independent Military Scientists—are presented in this article.

The table shows what we regard as the five most important factors which it is expedient to take into account when deciding the question of ratifying the treaty. It also includes the results of expert assessments (* sign).

		Results of Expert Assessments		
No.	Factors	"for"	"against"	"unclear"
1.	Panhuman	*		
2.	Military-Strategic Security of Russian Federation:			
	—treaty's correspondence to Russian Federation military doctrine		*	
	—parity with the United States			*
	—mutual relations with other nuclear powers:			
	Britain and France	*		
	China		*	
	Belarus and Kazakhstan	*		
	Ukraine			*
	—mutual relations with states which have not signed the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons but are capable of developing them			*
3.	Ecological Consequences of Nuclear Conflict:			
	—regional and local	*		
	—"nuclear winter"			*
	—destruction of Earth's ozone layer			*
	—consequences of explosions in near-Earth space			*
4.	Economic:			
	—recycling or destruction of rockets and nuclear weapons	*		
	—future development of Russian Federation Armed Forces, including strategic forces			*
5.	Social	*		

We offer brief explanations for your attention.

The attractiveness of the first factor is obvious. Mankind must live without nuclear weapons, and therefore any movement in this direction should be welcomed. But the realities of the present-day world are such that, despite an appreciable reduction in the level of military confrontation, a nuclear-free world remains an extremely remote and as yet unattainable objective. That is, the "panhuman" factor cannot be the determining factor in terms of the ratification of START II.

Russia's military-strategic security, however, is one of the most important assessments. It requires the examination of many questions, primarily the treaty's correspondence to our country's military doctrine. Unfortunately this doctrine has not yet been elaborated. The conclusion from this is that ratification of START II is undesirable. The truth that the military doctrine is paramount and everything else, including the treaty under discussion, is secondary, needs no proof. The doctrine can be made to fit the treaty, of course, but that approach would mean an increase in the probability that objective political, military, and economic interests of the Russian Federation would be left out of account.

Other questions determining military-strategic security are linked with military doctrine to a greater or lesser extent, although they also have a certain significance in themselves. Many of them relate to controversial questions. For example, the problem of military parity with the United States. If the military doctrine is not going to make provision for such parity, naturally the treaty must be ratified. Possibly a more optimal option in this instance would be to reduce our country's nuclear potential to the level of Britain, France, or China. Otherwise it becomes more difficult to assess parity because of the work on antimissile defense being done in the United States and the total uncertainty about Russia's ability to halt this work by political methods. You do not need to be an expert to realize that any reduction in nuclear weapon delivery vehicles and a transition to single-warhead missiles makes antimissile defense tasks easier and reduces the cost of developing such defenses.

We have touched on only one important aspect of military parity with the United States. Taking into account the fact that the problem has a whole number of other equally important aspects (comparative analysis of the "nuclear triads," assessment of the possibility of carrying out a retaliatory counterstrike or retaliatory strike, assessment of the possibility of inflicting unacceptable damage on a probable enemy in a retaliatory strike, and so forth), it is obvious that this factor alone can give rise to many contradictory judgments preventing the Supreme Soviet from drawing unequivocal conclusions about ratification of the treaty.

Let us draw particular attention to the "Chinese factor." Its continuation of underground test, its proximity to Russia, and the absence of reliable data on this neighboring country's nuclear missile potential argue more against ratification of the treaty. We should also include among the unclear issues our mutual relations with states capable of developing nuclear weapons: because of proximity to Russia's borders, the instability of the political situation and the odiousness of the regimes in a number of these states, and the possibility of nuclear blackmail and terrorist acts. Russia has no precise and clear military-political views about a possible challenge from this group of countries.

Frequently, various experts employ the concept of "inflicting unacceptable damage on a probable enemy." This concept has serious defects because of its vagueness resulting from the nonexistence of scientifically substantiated criteria for such damage. There is always a need for additional remarks explaining what, in the final analysis, is meant by such damage: the loss of one or several major cities, the destruction of one or several hydroelectric power station dams, the destruction of nuclear power stations (how many?), or maybe putting air force or naval bases out of operation? This is why there is a more comprehensible point in examining the question from the ecological viewpoint.

The crux of this lies in the following fundamental consideration: The result of reducing nuclear missile potential must be to rule out devastating ecological consequences in the event of nuclear war. Only in such a situation will politicians not be tempted to to reach for the nuclear "button" in an international crisis caused by a conflict of states' political, economic, or other interests.

But the problem of reliably assessing the ecological consequences of a nuclear conflict, particularly consequences of a global nature, has not been solved. Earlier, studies were marred by excessive ideological and political influences. Moreover, the physical models on which assessments were based do not withstand serious criticism. In other words, the possibility of a nuclear conflict being unleashed at this time is low, but it does exist.

From the economic viewpoint the greatest significance attaches to assessing financial expenditure on the future development of our armed forces, including our strategic forces, if START II is ratified. This question is also linked with Russia's military doctrine.

The economic benefit from reducing the country's nuclear missile forces is indisputable, even given the need for certain expenditure on the component-recycling and destruction of arms subject to reduction. According to some estimates, this benefit will total something like 100 billion rubles. But it could be reduced to nothing ifthe development of the armed forces requires the development [sozdaniye] of a new generation of strategic systems and the intensive development [razvitiye] of sea-launched nuclear missile systems, where the United States has supremacy.

The social factor covers an entire set of questions linked with the reduction of Russian army manpower and the conversion of the military-industrial complex. They have been repeatedly discussed in the press. But ratification of the treaty must not be dependent on getting these questions "sorted out."

Let us sum up the results of this brief analysis. It is not difficult to see that it is not possible to give the Supreme Soviet unequivocal recommendations. There are objective and weighty arguments "for" and "against" ratification.

Many problems require further serious discussion. Therefore, the most sensible and correct thing would be for the Supreme Soviet to defer examining the question of ratification of the treaty at least until Russia's military doctrine has been adopted, attitudes to American work on antimissile defense have been clearly defined, and a comprehensive program for the development of the armed forces has been elaborated. To reject the treaty as a whole or make fundamental changes to the text is inadvisable at the present stage.

U.S. 'Diktat' Seen in START Treaty

PM0906154793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 5

[Article by Lieutenant General Grigoriy Kisunko, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and "general designer of the first Russian ABM Systems": "Plus U.S. Nuclear Diktat"]

[Text] After the disintegration of the USSR, the Russian Federation inherited not only its strategic nuclear missile forces, but also the burden of their confrontation with the U.S. nuclear missile forces, which were created with the original aim of attaining such technical superiority over the USSR as to make it possible "to destroy all strategic nuclear delivery vehicles in the USSR." Those were precisely the terms in which the U.S. nuclear missile "flexible response strategy," which was later embodied in the concept of a disarming strike against USSR strategic nuclear forces by 550 ICBM's with MK-12 triple warheads (in all, 1,650 independently targetable warheads), was formulated in 1961. However, the aggressive ardor of the transatlantic strategists was cooled by the creation in the USSR of ICBM's stationed in highly hardened launch silos and also of a missile early warning system. On the basis of data from that system Soviet ICBM's would have been launched on a retributive retaliatory counterstrike before the warheads from a preemptive strike had reached their assigned targets. Moreover, even if the aggressor managed to fool the missile early warning system and deliver a strike against our launch silos and the ICBM's in them, approximately 460 plus or minus 52 silos would not have been hit by the fireballs from nuclear contact surface bursts. This would have left a sufficiently substantial remainder for a retributive retaliatory strike against the aggressor, leaving aside ballistic missiles on surviving submarines. The "flexible response strategy" was stymied.

In this connection, the United States developed a new program of work to "...identify and exploit the USSR's vulnerabilities to U.S. weapons..." and achieve technical superiority in spheres relating to guided weapons such as "target detection devices and high-precision guidance systems and warheads..." That was how J. Perry, U.S. under secretary of defense, described the tasks of the new program in a report to the U.S. Congress 1 February 1979.

They Have Their Own Plans Across the Ocean

Carrying out work in this field, U.S. specialists achieved impressive results in developing highly effective, extremely accurate warheads for ballistic and cruise missiles. For instance, in order to replace the nose sections of the "Minuteman-3" ICBM's (the triple-warhead MK-12), they developed the new MK-12A nose sections—which also have three warheads, but in terms of effectiveness in hitting the target with a nuclear fireball each new warhead is equivalent to six warheads from the old nose sections. At the same time, they developed the 10-warhead "MX" ICBM's, and in terms of effectiveness against the target each "MX" warhead is equivalent to 39 (!) MK-12 warheads or 6.5 MK-12A warheads. The ICBM grouping of 550 "Minuteman-3" missiles was replaced by a grouping consisting of 500 "Minuteman-3" missiles with the new nose sections and 50 "MX" missiles—a total of 2,000 warheads. Yet around 1,580 warheads would have been enough to destroy all 1,398 Soviet ICBM's (given a probable delivery failure rate of 1 in 10). This was the picture in the confrontation between U.S. and USSR land-based ICBM's by the time of the USSR's collapse. The United States had ensured that a disarming strike against the USSR's ICBM's was possible, but only... if it proved possible to fool the Soviet missile early warning system. And that "if," guaranteeing a retributive retaliatory counterstrike, kept the transatlantic strategists from the temptation of pressing the nuclear button in order to smash the Soviet "evil empire."

At present it is extremely important for Russia and the United States not to miss the opportunity to form fundamentally new relations in the sphere of nuclear missile arms with a view to ending the pointless confrontation between them (between arms). It would be a real benefit for mankind if both powers, right from the first steps in this sphere, put forward the initiative for multilateral talks among the nuclear states on concluding a treaty on the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, as the USSR always advocated. And, as a start, why should the U.S. and Russian presidents not issue a joint statement on not being the first to use nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, instead of this we have been presented with a treaty on the unlimited-duration authorization of strong-arm confrontation between the most sophisticated nuclear arms, festively updated and smartened up for the transition to the 21st century. I am referring to the START II treaty, whose official purpose is deemed to be to reduce the number of nuclear charges on U.S. and Russian offensive weapons to the level of 3,000-3,500 by the year 2003, in other words, allegedly to reduce them by a factor of three or so.

The supporters of this treaty claim that as a result of mutual concessions by the contracting parties, it opens up a new era of security for Russia, the United States,

and the whole world, although the world will scarcely become safer merely because the nuclear arms confronting each other contain, instead of 21,335 satanic "weapons," "only" 2 times 3,500, or 7,000 of them, which would be quite capable of incinerating all life on earth.

Not Concessions, But Smoke and Mirrors

The main U.S. "concession" to Russia is deemed to be its agreement to reduce "approximately threefold" the number of ballistic warheads on sea-launched missiles. In fact, it is a question of writing off and eliminating obsolete missiles on obsolete missile submarines with a total of 4,992 warheads and replacing them with new "Trident 2" missiles with 1,728 more effective warheads of the latest design. This is being presented to the public as an act prompted by love of peace: A reduction in the number of weapons of 4,992:1,728=2.89, that is, approximately three times.

Each new warhead, however, contains a nuclear charge 4.5 times more powerful than the old (written off) warhead, and the total yield of the charges on the 1,728 new warheads is 2.4 times greater than that of the 4,992 old warheads; finally, a single warhead from a "Trident 2" ICBM will ensure the same probability of hitting a small target with the fireball from a surface nuclear burst as would be attained by delivering to that same target 31 (no less!) warheads from the "Trident 1" missile, which is being withdrawn from service. **Thus according to all parameters, what is taking place is not a reduction but a sharp increase in the combat potential of the armada of U.S. missile submarines, which will be able to deliver its warheads to any point on Russia's territory from any point in the world ocean.** And the calculated number of "Trident 2" missiles required to hit, for instance, 1,000 Russian ICBM launch silos with nuclear fireballs is approximately 1,130-1,150 out of the total complement of 1,728—allowing for a possible warhead delivery failure rate of 1 in 10.

Thus we are witnessing a reorientation—disguised as a reduction—by U.S. strategists toward ensuring a disarming strike against Russia's strategic forces via "Trident 2" missiles (rather than silo-based missiles, as during the Soviet period of nuclear confrontation). There you have the Pentagon's flexible response to the fact that the system of over-the-horizon missile early warning stations also collapsed with the disintegration of the USSR! Out of seven such stations, four were outside the territory of Russia (Riga, Sevastopol, Mingechaur, and Balkhash) and three stations remained in Russia (Murmansk, Pechora, and Irkutsk). This creates ideal conditions for the aggressor to deliver with impunity a covert disarming strike by means of "Trident 2" missiles from submarines moved into sectors not monitored by the Murmansk, Pechora and Irkutsk stations. In these conditions Russia would be deprived of the ability to respond to the aggressor's strike with either a retributive retaliatory counterstrike or a retaliatory strike.

It is startling that all this seems to have been overlooked by our champions of the START II treaty, and what is more: Fooled by crude arithmetical manipulations, they have eagerly swallowed the imaginary reduction in U.S. naval nuclear forces as the main U.S. concession to Russia.

Yet another "concession" by the U.S. side... in its own favor looks equally cunning. I am referring to the removal from service of the 50 10-warhead "MX" land-based ICBM's and also the reduction of the number of warheads on "Minuteman 3" missiles to one instead of three on each missile. Thus out of the 2,000 warheads previously intended for delivering a first massive strike against the USSR's ICBM's, only 500 will remain on alert duty—one on each "Minuteman 3." Since the functions of [delivering] a first strike are being transferred to missile submarines, there is no longer a need for multiple-warhead "Minuteman 3" and "MX" missiles, whose fire sectors are monitored by the missile early warning and ABM radar stations on Russia's territory, as a result of which a strike by the aggressor may meet with a retaliatory counterstrike from the former Soviet ICBM's.

It is noteworthy that all the aforementioned measures to clear and replace obsolete sea-launched arms that have reached the end of their lifetimes and to redistribute tasks between land-based and sea-based nuclear missile systems did not require any treaty coordination with Russia. It was sufficient to reach agreement on total maximum numbers of nuclear charges—say the same 3,000-3,500 charges—and after this to allow each contracting party to decide independently the question of distributing these quantities among land-, sea-, and air-based components. **However, the U.S. side, abandoning (without losing anything) the multiple-warhead "MX" and "Minuteman 3" missiles, preferred to use this as formal grounds for insisting that Russia too agree to eliminate its multiple-warhead silo-based ICBM's—in other words, effectively to disarm our Strategic Rocket Forces. And we agreed to dismantle ourselves the foundation of our strategic deterrence under U.S. control!**

Under the START II treaty, in place of multiple-warhead silo-based ICBM's, we are allowed to have only single-warhead missiles. However, here too, the terms discriminate against Russia. Our multiple-warhead heavy missiles are not allowed to be converted into single-warhead missiles by removing the "superfluous" warheads from them (as with the "Minuteman 3"). And even the conversion of the launch silos of these missiles to take new single-warhead missiles is permitted for only 90 silos. We simply have to blow up the remaining 500-plus silos. These really plagued and scared the Pentagon strategists! This is despite the fact that the U.S. multiple-warhead missiles actually provide "vacant slots" for additional warheads: two in the "Minuteman 3" and four in the "Trident 2." That is, if the number of warheads on each missile is increased from four to eight, the armada of 18 "Ohio" submarines will be able to carry in its "Trident belly" the entire quota of 3,456

warheads permitted by the START II treaty. At the same time a ruinous, absurd, and, to be blunt, humiliating procedure for excluding heavy missiles from our strategic arms is being foisted on Russia. It is simply proposed to destroy them all. But why not convert them into single-warhead missiles by the same method of removal, replacing the "superfluous" warheads (over and above the first) with dummies of the same weight? If, heaven forbid, matters reach the point of nuclear conflict, then the dummy warheads will operate as ideal false targets to fool the nuclear aggressor's ABM systems.

Scenario of Continued Disintegration

However, after this START II smashing of our multiple-warhead ICBM's, where can the Russian Strategic Rocket Forces go? Can they plunge into the ocean like the U.S. "Trident 2," as some of our strategists, fooled by scholastic missile arithmetic, are proposing? Alas, even leaving aside the economic aspect of the problem, such a solution would be absurd because of the differences between the geostrategic positions of Russia and the United States. For Russia, this would result in a one-sided game of nuclear missile giveaway. The point is that the United States has a global system for detecting submarines, and so our submarines are detected and each is individually placed in the charge of U.S. antisubmarine strike forces capable of destroying our missile submarines along with their entire nuclear payload by nonnuclear means at the appointed "zero hour." It is well known that these "guardians" sometimes even "inadvertently" collide under water with our submarines even off our own shores.

The ideas of compensating for the loss of Russian multiple-warhead ICBM's (if this stupid act takes place) with mobile off-road missiles seem equally invalid. The authors of this by no means brilliant idea should pause to consider that we may find ourselves leading the entire world in terms of a new—nuclear—type of traffic accident. This is all we lacked after Chernobyl. And what about the difficulties in operating such missiles, what about maintaining them in constant prelaunch readiness, what about their vulnerability [slabaya zashchishchennost], what about the time it will take to get them ready for launching when they are stowed for travel, accidents, and environmental safety? And all this is for the sake of an illusory tactical gain as a result of mobility. For it is well known that back in the seventies the United States began to develop under project No. 1010 global strategic reconnaissance and target designation systems for land and sea targets and systems for the timely observation of their functioning and of changes in their location delivering information almost in real time. It is also well known that data from this system were used to support combat operations in the Persian Gulf and early in the Falkland Islands conflict.

A Few Conclusions

In view of all the above **there is no need to go into other details of the START II treaty because, even without this, it is clear that it has been foisted on us under well planned U.S. pressure to destroy the Russian deterrent potential and at the same time reinforce the U.S. offensive nuclear potential. After implementation of this treaty, total U.S. nuclear diktat up to and including the complete nuclear disarmament of Russia at U.S. nuclear gunpoint will be established in the confrontation between the U.S. and Russian nuclear forces.**

The only point it is possible to agree with is the ceiling of 3,000-3,500 on the number of nuclear charges confronting each other. But the distribution of the agreed number of charges among the land, sea, and air components of the strategic triad and especially the restoration of the Russian missile early warning system must be matters for sovereign decisions by Russia on the basis of its nuclear missile doctrine, which must be elaborated in the light of global and regional geostrategic situations relating to the security of the Russian Federation.

PRAVDA on Public Debate on START II

PM0906155993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Disarm, But Intelligently"]

[Text] Political fever that keeps our society in a state of constant stress is the favorite method of the Russian Federation president and his team in moving toward their goals. This is an effective means of diverting attention from vital problems.

So the apparent "cooling" on the part of the bunch in power toward the START II Treaty and other disarmament questions can be seen only as another tactical maneuver. Judge for yourselves: the clumsy haste in signing the document even before the adoption of the very blueprint for Russian defense in the new conditions and the present aloofness. Apparent aloofness, of course.

It doesn't take a prophet to predict that the present executive branch in Russia will try to implement all the promises to Washington made in the text sealed in January by the signatures of B. Yeltsin and G. Bush. But to the accompaniment of another blow of the fist. No desire is shown for the traditionally Russian approach of "sitting down together and having a heart-to-heart talk." Such is the tactic of permanent revolution being implemented in Russia, which cuts the people off from their rights. Including the right to defense.

Since representatives of the Russian Federation's military department are avoiding broad debate and representatives of the Foreign Ministry are covertly campaigning in favor of START II, the public, with the support of parliamentary circles, has embarked on organizing a discussion of the military-strategic aspect of the disarmament process and its economic and environmental components.

In contrast to the practice of a number of centers and news media, dissidence is not branded in these discussions and there is no name-calling. But nor is there any promise that positions will be unquestionably approved

according to status and rank either. Everyone is equal in the service of Russia. You can obtain information about the discussions by calling 206-88-41. We have been told that the next meeting will be at 1500 hours 15 June at the Russian Parliamentary Center, 2 Tsvetnoy Boulevard, Moscow.

First Document on U.S. Agricultural Aid Signed

PM0906150793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Vice Premier Zaveryukha Provides Russia With Butter Worth $70 Million"]

[Text] Washington—An agreement has been signed in Washington that finally opens the way for the implementation of the Russian economic aid programs worked out during the Vancouver summit in April. Russian Deputy Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha and U.S. Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy signed the document. The agreement "releases" supplies of U.S. agricultural produce to Russia.

I would remind you that we were promised $700 million worth of agricultural produce in Vancouver, not for free, but on credit. It then turned out that $200 million of this would automatically go to U.S. shipowners since, under current U.S. law, 75 percent of this kind of aid must be delivered by U.S. ships. This caused a problem which was further aggravated by the fact that, sensing an opportunity to earn as much as possible out of helping us, the Americans inflated their already high charter rates. A series of intensive talks at varying levels succeeded in finally reaching a compromise: Russia will pay freightage at the lower world—not U.S—prices, and the difference will be covered by the U.S. Government, which has, moreover, agreed to supply us with diverse agricultural produce—mainly butter—worth a total of around $70 million completely free of charge.

During his visit to the United States Vice Premier Zaveryukha coordinated with the Americans all accords covering the $700-million economic aid program. But he signed just one document, the rest evidently being left for Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who is expected here on an official visit next week.

Minus the money spent on the charter, we will receive around $230 million worth of maize, $117 million of wheat, $105 million of soya meal for mixed feed, and, in addition, poultry, rice, sugar, vegetable oil and, possibly, peanuts.

Beneficial Terms, Impact of U.S. Grain Credit Viewed

PM1006090993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Andrey Sizov report: "Not Only Deliveries of Imported Grain Have Been Galvanized But Also Grain Purchases From Our Farms"]

[Text] The $700 million U.S. credit is becoming really favorable: Russia will pay all the costs associated with the purchasing and transportation of grain at current world rates.

Let us remind you that this agricultural credit provided by the Clinton administration contained a number of unfavorable conditions for Russia as the purchaser. First of all, there was the condition that at least three-fourths of the grain being imported must be transported under the U.S. flag—which made the freight almost four times as expensive. In addition, purchases of U.S. grain had to be made at U.S. domestic prices, which for wheat are above world prices. As a result, the average price of one tonne of grain delivered to Russia would end up $50-60 above the price formed on the basis of world rates.

The talks which a Russian delegation headed by Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin had at the end of April with representatives of the U.S. Administration removed those conditions. The U.S. side showed a clear desire to help Russia at a difficult time for it. The proviso that three-fourths of the grain being imported must be transported under the U.S. flag remains in force, but, as IZVESTIYA has already reported, the U.S. Administration undertakes to pay costs which exceed current world rates. The question of purchases of U.S. wheat at domestic prices has also been resolved. Grain to the value of $44 million is being purchased at these prices, while grain to the value of $12 million is being provided gratis. As a result, the average purchase price for wheat will end up at the level of world rates. In addition, the U.S. side agreed to grant to "Eksportkhleb" the right to make grain purchases in the United States on a tender basis—which will make it possible to purchase grain at the lowest price on offer. The U.S. conditions are for uninterrupted unloading and a ban on the reexporting of analogous products from Russia.

Almost half of the $700 million will go to pay for imports of corn ($227.5 million) and soybean meal ($105 million). Purchases of these will be made primarily in connection with the feed shortage, particularly in poultry farming. Some $56 million will go on importing wheat, and the timing of its delivery is not so urgent as for feed. First, thanks to the increase in purchase prices to an average of 30,000-32,000 rubles per tonne of grain, sales by Russian farms have been galvanized. By the end of April they had sold approximately 700,000 tonnes of additional grain to the state, and "Roskhleboprodukt" hopes to buy approximately 1.5 million more tonnes before the new harvest starts to be gathered in. Second, deliveries of imported wheat from the EC—from France above all—have been galvanized. A resumption of wheat imports from Canada is also expected, and they could total approximately 430,000 tonnes. But even regardless of these deliveries, as "Roskhleboprodukt" President Leonid Cheshinskiy declared, there are adequate stocks of flour in state resources to supply the population for six weeks. Last year there were periods when these stocks fell as low as three to five days' supply.

Owen Cited on Russian Refusal To Police 'Safe Zones'

PM1006113593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Nikolay Yermolovich report: "Russia Refuses To Send Its Troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[Excerpt] This was stated in Paris by Lord Owen, cochairman of the Coordinating Committee of the London Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. "Russia has altered its position and is not prepared to send its troops to defend the 'safe zones' in Bosnia-Herzegovina," he said. No explanation has been forthcoming from the Russian Foreign Ministry.

The "safe zones" introduced by the UN Security Council were initially rejected by the Muslims' leaders, who saw them as a kind of ghetto. Without their approval the plan was doomed to fail. You cannot protect a population which is unwilling to be protected. When the long-awaited "yes" finally came, new problems arose.

First of all, the Muslim leadership imposed a number of conditions on its consent. In particular, the "safe zones" must be interlinked by "guaranteed" communicating routes, and heavy arms must be neutralized.

But reinforcing the "blue helmets" nonetheless remains the chief problem. H. Silajdzic, foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has voiced disappointment that only a few states have expressed willingness to send their troops to his long-suffering homeland. Russia and Germany are refusing to do so, the latter for historical and constitutional reasons. France has no intention of increasing the strength of its military contingent in the former Yugoslavia. What is more, it plans to withdraw a logistical support battalion from Zagreb by October.

Developments Regarding Ukrainian Nuclear Arms Analyzed

MK0906121093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 5

[Mikhail Shchipanov commentary under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "And Then They Began Counting Missiles"]

[Text] The call was in Ukraine, the echo in North Korea. Whether Papa Kim figured it out on his own or whether he learned it from Kravchuk, the gambling on the brink of nuclear risk, evidently according to the Ukrainian scenario, has been exploited by Pyongyang for the purpose of large-scale international bargaining.

In any event, it is precisely at this moment that the Koreans finally managed to get U.S. agreement to hold broad bilateral consultations. Naturally, a pretext for holding them was given by Pyongyang's withdrawal from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. As Napoleon used to say, however, engaging the enemy is the key. The key objective for the aging Kim Il-song's team is to break the international isolation.

When it comes to "nuclear gambling," however, Ukrainian leaders feel like fish in heavy water. Even Zbigniew Brzezinski hurried to Kiev the other day in order to see for himself the ratification of the START I Treaty. But Zbig would better have stayed at home and saved the ticket money. Parliamentarians in Kiev are ready to start debating the treaty at any time, but the definitive decision has been postponed.

The new psychological pause is unlikely to make anyone happier. According to many analysts, Kiev is simply trying to buy time, quietly preparing to take missiles deployed on Ukrainian territory under its full technical control. Specialists' opinions differ, but estimates of the time Ukrainian specialists will need to crack the missile control codes vary from two to six months. Afterward it will be just a matter of political brainwashing: first, twisting the arms of the personnel doing the servicing of the intercontinental ballistic missiles, pushing them into the corner with intolerable living conditions, we are all human, after all, then, solving the technical problem of controlling ICBM's. They say that a Kharkov-based "mailbox" enterprise has been tasked with finding a solution to the problem. And in the end, simply taking the steering wheel and retargeting the missiles, say, on Moscow. Which will be duly reported to their, say, American partners.

The last circumstance may have a significant psychological effect. While reproaching Kiev in Washington, they have repeatedly said approximately the following: Why do you, a democratic country, need to stick to your frightening weapons, especially those aimed at overseas targets. If the Ukrainian leaders, however, report that, say, Washington and Hollywood are no longer threatened by the frightening monsters, the psychological situation may change. The missiles will recede into a more abstract notion for the Yankees, hence the room for political maneuvers would increase drastically. A Ukrainian military doctrine would also take shape in the bargain. An explanation to that effect has been prepared well in advance: You did not let us get closer to NATO than its lobby, so here you are having, in effect, the third-largest nuclear power on the grounds of, so to speak, defense necessity. Well-wishers are bound to appear, who will be quick to take the world community to task for its intransigence.

Meanwhile, entirely acceptable options for denuclearizing Ukraine, based on the well-known proverb about the wolves who have had their fill and the sheep who stay alive, do exist. Among other things, it is proposed to spare the sovereign leaders the traumatizing procedure of a public withdrawal of valuable missile hardware with nuclear warheads. A much simpler option is available: Warheads should be separated from delivery vehicles and stored under international control. And later, in around seven to ten years' time, the aging weapons would have to be replaced all the same.

Vorobyev, Emergency Situations Delegation Leave for Georgia

LD0906131493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Members of the operational group of Russia's State Committee for Emergency Situations, headed by Yuriy Vorobyev, first deputy chairman of that committee, flew to Gudauta and Sukhumi today. A Russian Government delegation led by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is to arrive there.

The talks will deal with a settlement in Abkhazia, but we are mostly interested in adopting a decision regarding continuation of the humanitarian aid, Yuriy Vorobyev told ITAR-TASS before leaving from Sochi.

Kozyrev Optimistic About Karabakh, Not Abkhazia

LD1006040593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0310 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jun—This morning Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Security Minister Viktor Barannikov returned to Moscow from their working trip to Georgia and Armenia. During their stay in Tbilisi, Gudauta, and Sukhumi, the ministers discussed ways of an Abkhazian settlement with the Georgian and Abkhazian leadership and in the Armenian capital they discussed the Karabakh problem.

Answering journalists' questions aboard the plane, Andrey Kozyrev noted that on the whole he is satisfied with the results of the trip. He said that in Georgia and Abkhazia the position of Russia, according to which the future of relations with the sides will depend directly on a peaceful settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, was set forth extremely clearly. At the same time the Russian minister voiced doubt that the truce in the confrontation zone would remain unviolated.

Speaking of the conversations in Yerevan with the leadership of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, Andrey Kozyrev stressed that the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic leadership's reply to the CSCE initiative on a Karabakh settlement is expected on 11 June. Armenia and Azerbaijan have approved the CSCE initiative, the minister said, and we hope that the Karabakh side will act in similar fashion.

Karabakh Authorities Ready To Extradite Russian Pilot

LD0906183493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1539 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—Nagorno-Karabakh authorities are ready to extradite the military pilot major Anatoliy Chystyakov to Russian law-enforcement bodies. He fought on the Azeri side as a mercenary and was shot down on January 15, 1993. Robert Kacharyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh State Committee for Defence, told ITAR-TASS by telephone on Wednesday [9 June].

Kacharyan stressed that the extradition will be possible after the Russian pilot is indicted by the Stepanakert court and if Russia makes a corresponding appeal. According to the chairman of defence, in spite of crimes commited by Chystyakov he would not become a subject of political bargain.

On Wednesday the weekly "MOSCOW NEWS" expressed readiness to act as a mediator in the negotiations.

Lithuanian Claim To Pay Russian Vets' Pensions Refuted

PM0906150593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 2

[Anatoliy Yurkin report: "Echo of Great Lie"]

[Text] A report from the Lithuanian newspaper LIETUVOS AIDAS [LITHUANIAN ECHO] published in PRAVDA said that military pensioners in Lithuania are receiving money from the republic's budget.

We asked Colonel Vladimir Vdovin, deputy chief of the Social Security Directorate of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Main Directorate for the Military Budget and Financing, to comment on LIETUVOS AIDAS' statement.

"This statement does not correspond to the facts," Vladimir Ivanovich said. "Expenditure for paying out pensions to military pensioners who are resident in this republic comes entirely out of the Russian Federation budget."

[PRAVDA] "How accurate is the information of our Lithuanian colleagues at LIETUVOS AIDAS concerning the size and the payment of the pensions?"

[Vdovin] "The size of the pensions for servicemen discharged from service is calculated and paid out in accordance with Russian Federation legislation."

You can add to this commentary by a competent official the hope that Lithuanian journalists will not become like those who used to claim that you only had to lead a horse to the trough for it to drink even dirty water!

Deputy Prime Minister Fedorov Visits Bulgaria

Economic Agreements Signed

LD0906124993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0929 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Stepanenko]

[Text] Sofia June 9 TASS—On Tuesday [8 June] Russia and Bulgaria signed agreements on promoting and protecting mutual investments as well as avoiding double taxation, a protocol on implementing an understanding

on Bulgaria's participation in the construction of infrastructure for Yamburg gas-field and a number of other important documents within the framework of the intergovernmental commission for cooperation between the two countries.

The government delegations of Russia and Bulgaria are headed by Vice-Premier Boris Fedorov and Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev respectively.

Earlier the same day a meeting of the commission's members was held with representatives of Bulgarian financial and business circles at which a number of specific problems of interaction in different spheres were raised.

In particular, it became clear that a working group of Bulgarian banks is interested in setting up a Bulgarian-Russian bank in Moscow with a branch in Sofia. Participants in the meeting emphasised that the present situation of economic cooperation between the two countries demands such action.

Boris Fedorov favoured this idea, expressing a readiness to assist in implementing it. Great attention was paid to specific versions of establishing direct transport links between Russia and Bulgaria, and participation of business circles in resolving this problem.

Specific proposals were put forward to set up joint production of medicines, tobacco products and other goods. Both sides were intersted in the possibility of participation by Bulgarian firms in the rehabilitation of abandoned wells in Russian oil-fields.

Replying to journalists' questions, Fedorov praised the work done by the intergovernmental commission. "I won't say that we have solved some very big problems, but it is clear that relations between Bulgaria and Russia have taken a definite turn," he said.

Boris Fedorov was received today by President Zhelyu Zhelev. During the talks the head of state said that Bulgaria attaches great importance to the development of trade and economic relations with Russia, the importance of which is determined by traditional ties between the two states, as well as by changes which they are going through at present.

Talks Described as Mutually Beneficial

LD0906160993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1619 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Stepanenko]

[Text] Sofia June 9 TASS—The Russian Government delegation led by Vice-Premier Boris Fedorov left here on Wednesday [9 June] after attending a session of the intergovermental commission for trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between Russia and Bulgaria.

The two sides discussed ways to overcome the downturn in economic relations between the two countries and signed agreements on the encouragement and mutual protection of investments, on the prevention of double taxation, and other important bilateral documents which lay the foundation for further development of cooperation between Russia and Bulgaria in the new conditions.

On the final day of their stay here, the Russian delegation was received by Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Birov. He expressed satisfaction with the maintenance of relations of friendship between the two countries and expressed a view that economic relations must play a priority role.

Fedorov emphasised that the Russian side attaches special importance to stimulating contacts between private frims, banks, and joint-stock companies. The two sides expressed an opinion that the future of cooperation between Russia and Bulgaria is in a decreasing role of state regulation of bilateral trade-and-economic relations.

"I think we have every ground to believe that relations between our two countries will develop," Fedorov told ITAR-TASS at Sofia airport before leaving Bulgaria. He voiced confidence that this will be promoted by the activities of the intergovernmetal commission which has held its first meeting in Sofia with success. The Russian vice-premier pointed out that the delegation also had a productive exchange of views on the economic reform processes in the two countries.

"We discussed these matters in detail, particularly during talks in the Bulgarian Ministry of Finance and with Bulgarian Vice-Premier Valentin Karabashev," Fedorov said.

"I think we have wider opportunities for the development of our relations after this meeting. It is important to point out that all negotiations and the documents signed dealt with specific matters. I think the Russian delegation's visit has been of mutual benefit," Karabashev said.

Sergey Yastrzhembskiy Named Slovak Ambassador

MK0906101493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 24, 13 Jun 93 (signed to press 8 Jun) p A2

[Unattributed report under the "Appointments" rubric]

[Text] Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department, was appointed by edict of the Russian president Russia's first ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to independent Slovakia.

The 40-year-old diplomat graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. From 1981 to 1989 he worked for the PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM magazine in Prague. He then spent over a year at the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. From 1990 to 1991 he headed the editorial boards of MEGAPOLIS and VIP magazines. In 1992 he took up the post of Russian Foreign Ministry

Information and Press Department director. Sergey Yastrzhembskiy has a command of French, English, Czech, and Portuguese. In his interview with the Bratislava newspaper NARODNA OBRODA he regretted the fact that he did not really get down to learning Slovak because of his busy schedule. At present, he has been carefully studying documents on Czechoslovak history, paying particular attention to the USSR's contacts with Slovakia in the pre-war period. According to Yastrzhembskiy, he thinks his appointment to the responsible position of ambassador to Slovakia is "undoubtedly flattering" for a young diplomat, as he sees himself. Upon arrival in Bratislava he intends to give a boost to the exchange of information between Slovakia and Russia, whose bilateral relations, in his view, have greater potential that those with some other countries of East Europe. Sergey Yastrzhembskiy is married with two children.

One candidate who can be mentioned as having the most solid chances of replacing Sergey Yastrzhembskiy at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry is former Ostankino Television General Director Igor Malashenko.

Consultative Group on Russia Opens in Paris

Shokhin on Handling Aid, Debt Issues

PM0906160393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Mikhail Berger report: "Aleksandr Shokhin Advises Not Taking Everything We Are Offered"]

[Text] A consultative group of donor countries gathered in Paris Tuesday [8 June] to discuss questions of aid for Russia. Before flying out, Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin told IZVESTIYA about the subject of the proposed discussion and about his own view of the problems of financial support for the Russian reforms.

Conferences were held last year in Washington, Lisbon, and Tokyo to coordinate humanitarian and technical aid for the CIS. The Tokyo meeting, held last October, was the last event of this kind. That is, it was decided not to convene conferences on these problems and not to tackle humanitarian aid for the CIS countries anymore, except for quite extraordinary cases.

Instead of conferences it was decided under the auspices of the World Bank to assemble consultative groups of donor countries for each CIS state separately. Such meetings have already been held in respect of Kyrgyzia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. Now the consultative group on Russian problems is meeting for the first time 8 June.

As Aleksandr Shokhin pointed out, the consultative meeting of donors for Russia will examine not only its own "specialist" question of giving technical assistance but also the general situation in conjunction with the country's internal foreign economic situation and also with what it is proposed to examine at the upcoming Tokyo meeting of the G-7 leaders.

In this connection, the vice premier recalled that of the $43.4 billion promised to Russia by Western countries, aid proper, which theoretically can be provided in various versions, amounts to $28.4 billion. The remaining $15 billion relates to the agreement with the "Paris Club" to defer Russian debts. It was signed (also by Shokhin, incidentally) as long ago as 2 April, i.e. even before the announcement of the "$43 billion package."

On the other hand, this package does not include a possible agreement with the "London Club" (commercial bank credits), with which Russia is trying to reach agreement on a deferment on the same terms as with the "Paris Club." Shokhin believes that this is very important, because this year alone Russia has to pay $14 billion to commercial banks.

Another debt problem, on a smaller scale but almost more complex, involves payments for deliveries already made by Western firms which were imprudent enough to work with commercial organizations of the former USSR and with some Russian firms. Debts in these categories have reached $7 billion, and the Russian side is trying to suggest various options for resolving this problem: using the "Paris Club's" formula here as well and setting up a special insurance fund.

Shokhin considers it the most important thing for Russia now to settle the problems with the "London Club" and the defaulted payments on deliveries that have been made. As regards the $28 billion promised us, the vice premier pointed out that even theoretically we can receive far from all of it this year, as was promised. The receipt of the $6 billion stabilization fund is linked—on the initiative of Russia itself—with the curbing of inflation and the reduction of the budget deficit. But the tackling of these tasks has, in turn, been postponed until the end of the year. Of the $3 billion of reserve credit, we will manage to receive this year, at best, just $1.5 billion. Of the $4 billion offered by the World Bank to assist structural transformations, just one oil credit of $1 billion has been worked out. The remaining projects are at a stage that is very vague and far removed from direct talk of money.

Shokhin believes that Russia should not take a significant proportion of what has been offered. This applies to bilateral export credits above all. They are granted on ordinary terms and virtually constitute aid to the Western firms selling a commodity to Russia. The receipt of such credits on ordinary terms would sharply worsen Russia's payment situation, since it would be necessary to settle up in the very near future, and it threatens to cause a crisis in the indebtedness this time of Russia, not of the former USSR.

The fundamentally new idea of aid to Russia by way of aid to the CIS countries has emerged recently. This idea has already been voiced unofficially yet publicly, particularly by Konstantin Kagalovskiy, the IMF director from Russia. Its essence is to set up an international fund which would give credits to purchasers of Russian power sources in nearby foreign parts. According to some

estimates, last year alone, by means of deliveries of currency commodities to the CIS countries, Russia virtually subsidized them to the tune of $17 billion. In order that just some of this money can return in the form of payments in hard currency, Russia is prepared to participate itself in setting up a fund for purchasers of its oil in the CIS. Such a scheme would help to reduce the burden of foreign debts for Russia and would switch part of the credit flows to nearby foreign countries.

If such a fund is set up, and it is not Russia but the West that will give credits to the Commonwealth countries, then the possibility of returning this money to Western creditors, so Shokhin believes, is substantially greater, since their relations are not complicated by the many political problems that exist within the CIS.

So while gratefully accepting offers of assistance, Shokhin said, we would like to submit our own view of the problem of the forms and nature of support for the reforms.

Aid Programs to Russia Discussed

LD0906202293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1817 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikita Yermakov]

[Text] Paris June 9 TASS—The first meeting of a consultative group on Russia, which was set up to coordinate a programme of financial aid to Russia, took place in the European office of the World Bank on Tuesday and Wednesday [8 and 9 June].

The meeting was attended by delegations from 14 Western countries, the International Monetary Fund and a number of other international organisations, and a Russian delegation led by Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin.

The head of the Russian delegation informed what measures had been taken by the government for the macroeconomic stabilisation and conducting structural reforms in the economy, including measures for combating inflation and reducing the budget deficit. He expressed Russia's point of view on ways of using programmes of aid, which are expected to amount to 43.3 billion dollars.

Chairman of the consultative group on Russia and vice-president of the World Bank, Wilfried Thalwitz, welcomed the policy aimed at deepening economic reforms in Russia and emphasised the importance of aid programme, contributing to the success of these policies.

Addressing a news conference, Thalwitz said that they became sure that there are possibilities of turning an aid package to Russia into concrete actions. He said that at the first meeting mutual confidence was reached and that the West realised what problems Russia was facing, which had achieved much progress in the development of the market economy, and that they were prepared to do everything possible to translate concrete projects into life.

"Russia wants political promises of aid to Russia be realised in concrete projects," Shokhin said in an interview with ITAR-TASS. "The World Bank was instructed to coordinate programmes of technical assistance to Russia and we would like them to be connected with other forms of aid to our country. The first meeting was a success. So far, a global question was raised, but the work is only beginning. An efficient mechanism of coordinating aid is being worked out, and priorities are being established. We hope that the structure of the aid package will not be too tight to make it possible to redistribute funds," Shokhin said.

Greek Ambassador on Yeltsin's Forthcoming Visit

LD0906214193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1948 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Malinov]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—"We are awaiting the arrival of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in Greece, who will prepare the ground for the subsequent visit to Athens by Russian President Boris Yeltsin," Greek Ambassador to Moscow Konstandinos Limberopoulos said in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Wednesday [9 June]. The ambassador said that the Russian president's visit to Greece will promote the development of more close cooperation between Russia and Greece in all spheres.

In the ambassador's opinion, there are good prospects for the development of Russo-Greek relations. The two countries have many interests in common, and both sides can actively promote the strengthening of peace both in the Balkans and in the Caucasus.

Assessing the results of an international conference "Russia's South; Prospects for Development and Cooperation in the Black-Sea—Mediterranean Region" attended by a Greek delegation led by Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Viryinia Tsoudherou, the Greek ambassador said that Greece had made a tangible contribution to the implementation of the tasks of this forum.

"We had talks with local authorities and expressed the wish to substantially promote the economic development of the Russian south. We are maintaining contacts with the Russian Government for further development of suggested ideas, " the ambassador said.

After attending a conference in Anapa, Tsoudherou visited Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, which displayed a great interest in the development of close cooperation with Greece, the ambassador said. Caucasian states are situated close to Greek borders, and therefore, Athens is concerned about problems in the region. In January, 1994, Greece will take the chair in the European Community and put forward the development of relations between this region and the EC, including Greece, as one of the main priorities," the ambassador said.

He said that Greece will open its embassies in Baku, Yerevan, Tbilisi and Kiev in a month's time, adding that consular departments will be opened there to help the Greek Consulate in Moscow, issuing documents for Greek emigrants leaving Russia for permanent residence in Greece.

Warship Trapped in Cadiz by Spanish Fishermen's Strike

PM1006105993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 3

[Valeriy Nikolayev report from the "From Our News Bureau" column: "Extended Hospitality"]

[Text] The Baltic Fleet escort ship Druzhnyy's official visit to the Spanish port of Cadiz lasted from 31 May through 4 June, But the ship still remains in that distant port—Cadiz is blockaded; Spanish fishermen are on strike.

The Baltic Fleet tanker Lena, which is under orders to collect the visitors who arrived on the Druzhnyy and take them to Baltiysk, cannot put into the port either. However, the Russian sailors are not wasting their time: They have been on trips around the city, and the Druzhnyy has also received on board 12 petty officers and 15 ordinary seamen from the Spanish missile-carrying frigate Santa Maria.

Russian-French Space Crews Pass Final Tests

LD0906202493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1820 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—The results of four day final tests underwent by one of the two Russo-French space crews were assessed as excellent. On Wednesday [9 June] the pre-start training pragramme was completed as the other crew have passed their tests a bit earlier. The start of the three-week joint space expedition is scheduled for July 1, 1993.

Experts at the Cosmonauts Training Centre told ITAR-TASS that the rest of the pre-start period will be devoted to finalizing preparations for the future expedition. Before the start the state commission will define which of the two crews will go up. The first crew consists of Vasiliy Tsybliyev, Aleksandr Serebrov and Jean-Pierre Haignere, the second one—Viktor Afanasyev, Gennadiy Manakov and Claudie Deshays.

Khasbulatov Receives German Chief Editor

LD0906113093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Parliament's press service reported today that Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, received Rolf Schmidt-Holtz, editor in chief of the publishers of STERN magazine, yesterday. During the meeting, the two sides discussed the role of the Western press in the objective coverage of the process of democratic change in Russia, the course of economic reforms, and the emergence and development of Russian parliamentarism. Ruslan Khasbulatov, the release states, accepted with satisfaction Rolf Schmidt-Holtz's invitation to visit the FRG.

Debris From ROK Plane Downed in 1983 Unearthed

LD0906161793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1232 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy]

[Text] Nevelsk (Sakhalin region) June 9 TASS—A new page in the tragic fate of the South Korean Boeing-747, shot down on the night of September 1, 1983, will be opened at the end of this month.

It is intended to open a burial place of the plane's debris, raised from the Tartar Strait during search work.

The flight's whereabouts were kept in deep secret for almost 10 years. The version which was dispelled all this time was that the Boeing remains which had been gathered were sent by the military to somewhere on Russian mainland.

In actual fact they were buried in a deserted silo on Nevelsk District territory. Ivan Malakhov, district mayor, confirmed this in an interview with ITAR-TASS. He noted in particular that the relatives of the dead have been invited and that this will end discussion over the existence of a common grave.

A memorial stone will be unveiled on the sea coast of the port city of Nevelsk on the day of the tenth anniversary of this tragic incident.

Constitutional Conference

Chernomyrdin 7 Jun Speech on Constitutional Process

PM1006084593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 2

["Speech by the Chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government at the 7 June Session of the Group of Representatives of Federal Organs of State Power To Finalize the Draft Russian Federation Constitution: Viktor Chernomyrdin—'We Now Have the Chance Actually To Combine the Economic and Political Reforms in Russia'"]

[Text] Recent weeks in Russian political life have been marked by a significant acceleration of the constitutional process. The Constitutional Conference, now under way, marks its entry into a new and in many respects essentially decisive phase. In order not to lose reliable pointers for our work as a whole on the new constitution, we must clearly set out the context in which our work is taking place and will take place in the future.

What is the government's principal premise? In the first place, we believe that all the necessary prerequisites exist in society for a civilized, constructive political dialogue. The very fact that representatives of all branches of authority have assembled in this hall to confer with one another is in itself a substantial contribution to the relaxation of the current political tension. Furthermore, from that viewpoint, the road we have to travel to reach an agreed draft is perhaps just as important as the result. Our work is essentially the embodiment of the civil accord which our country needs so badly today. I am convinced that one of the main conditions of this is the unity of the constitutional process, that is, the principle: one draft—one constitition, taking into account, of course, everything of value that has been and will be said during the discussion.

In the second place, following the referendum, the government is actually obliged to pursue the policy that was supported by the people. We have both legal and moral grounds for this. Essentially, we are at the start of a new stage in the reforms. The tasks that come to the fore are those of basic structural changes. In other words, the foundation is being created for Russia's new economic system, for a socially orientated market economy.

It seems to me that our working group's task today is to carry out this analysis without bringing the tense atmosphere of polititcal crisis into this hall.

As chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers I would like to dwell, of course, on certain features of the executive authority's activities. The draft constitution presented by the president for discussion by the conference provides the government with pretty powerful means of performing the functions of a federal executive authority, primarily in the sphere of the conduct of economic policy and management of federal property. I believe that a stronger executive authority is necessary during the period of transition to a new economy, to a new quality of economic and social relations. Does this mean that the institution of president will fall outside the sphere of action of the separation of powers principle and soar above the other branches of authority? There are scarcely any grounds for saying that, for taking fright and frightening others. The institution of president purely and simply interacts with all three authorities. In the full sense of the word it is dependent on them, creating a pretty exact and fine balance, making it possible to combine a multiplicity of departmental and state interests.

The development of Russian statehood is inseparable from the augmentation of federal representative power. The draft constitution gives this process considerable momentum, by providing conditions for the simplification of the democratic foundations of civilized parliamentarism, conforming to the interests of Federation members and all citizens of our Russia. If there are any suspicions here of the belittlement of parliament's role, let us discuss them.

I would like to talk about what I think might be added to the document under discussion. This applies above all to citizens' economic and social rights. Of course, we must first of all stimulate economic freedom and activity and business enterprise—in short, what we all lack today.

But we must also enshrine in our constitution some very important socioeconomic rights, such as the right to work and to leisure, essential state measures on the protection of human interests and rights in conditions of transition to the market, and guarantees of social protection for the weak and the needy.

The second—in my view highly significant—question concerns the institution of state regulation. I think it is necessary to define the constitutional responsibility of the government and Central Bank for conducting a unified financial, credit, and monetary policy.

I believe that the president's draft corresponds more to the situation as it is at the moment. It guarantees the further unfolding of the reforms within the framework of the chosen course, and, what is more, this draft is less wordy and is a better legal document and it does not contain too many bald statements and too much ideology, which is what the second version, that of the Constitutional Commission, suffers from, despite certain merits. What we need to do today is to build up the potential for accord in society, and act simultaneously in the political and economic spheres. The experience of perestroyka shows what can happen when there is a gulf between reforms in politics and in the economy. We now have a chance to actually combine economic and political reforms in Russia. To organize for them, with the aid of the new constitution, a reliable system of coordinates for strong and developed modern democratic law. We simply cannot miss this opportunity.

I believe the priority for each member of the working group must be the interests first and foremost of our

Russia's future and of each of its citizens, and not party, group or deparmental predilections. The Constitution is not a text to be endlessly polished up; it is the Fundamental Law of the life of the Russian State and of the 150 million citizens of Russia. It should provide an efficient means of safeguarding the individual's rights and freedoms and a balance of the interests of the various social groups, state structures, and social and political forces.

Proceedings of 8 Jun Session Reported

PM0906162993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Constitutional Conference Hopes for Return of Demarche Participants"]

[Text] The 8 June session of five working groups of the Constitutional Conference began on time, in a businesslike manner, without sensations.

Opening the session, V. Sheynis, cochairman of the group of political parties and movements, public organizations, and religious faiths, reported, in particular, that the conference's working commission had sat the previous day. As is known, it was formed by the president 13 May to coordinate the work of sections and to settle disputed problems. According to Sheynis, the commission discussed the question of holding an additional plenary session. A final decision was not adopted, but the overwhelming majority of its participants advocated the need to hold the plenary session before 16 June.

Some of the deputies who quit the conference have returned and are continuing to work, Sheynis reported. But some have gone away to the regions, and so the commission decided to send them telegrams asking them to return to the conference.

In conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent S. Alekseyev, chairman of the Constitutional Conference, pointed out that, as shown by the first working day in the groups, a businesslike approach predominates in its work.

The progress of the work on the draft constitution in the working groups can also be judged from the summary prepared by the current information center of the president's administration. It follows from this that in the course of 7 June approximately 25 articles of the constitution were adopted by vote in certain groups.

The proposal made by A. Vladislavlev in the group of representatives of political parties and mass movements merits attention—to discuss the draft laws on elections and on federal organs of power.

The problem of returning representatives of the Supreme Soviet leadership to the conference is also being discussed. Today President B. Yeltsin is expected to meet with members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and also with heads of the republics making up the Russian Federation.

A. Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, told IZVESTIYA's correspondent that the republics' leaders have themselves stayed in Moscow to hold such a meeting and are seeking to keep the conflict connected with the 5 June demarche by a group of deputies within a framework in which it is possible to continue a political dialogue.

In the course of the groups' work during the morning of 8 June a number of amendments to the presidential draft of the constitution submitted both by individual conference participants and collectively were adopted. The local self-management group adopted a decision to delegate its own representatives to other sections when discussing the part of the constitution concerning local self-management. During the discussion of an amendment to Article 5 of the draft constitution, which states that the president is head of the executive, A. Sobchak declared the following: "By making the president head of the executive we make him monarch." He substantiated this by saying that the country lacks a developed multiparty system and that sharp disagreements exist in relations between the legislature and the representative power [as published]. Nevertheless, the amendment was adopted.

Constitutional Conference Continues 9 Jun

Zorkin on Need for Accord

LD0906164793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Interview with Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin by Vladimir Perfilyev; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Perfilyev] Today Boris Yeltsin took part in the discussion of the draft of the new basic law of Russia in the working groups of the constitutional conference. He expressed concern that the groups might adopt different decisions on the same amendments. But the president assured journalists that there would not, of course, be five drafts. It looks as if the idea of creating a single draft constitution is involving an increasingly large number of people who are working on the document in the Kremlin.

[Zorkin] We have provided a large batch of comments with regard to all the sections of the draft, and we have expressed our vision of it. It is another matter as to what extent this will be taken into account.

[Perfilyev] What is your forecast for all that? Will they manage to create a unified document?

[Zorkin] That will depend on the good will of the participants, on the whole of the political constitutional process. I am simply hoping for that, if you are asking me for my personal point of view, because there is no other way, because there must be accord. Otherwise there will be a struggle and that we shall be waiting forever.

More on Yeltsin-Presidium Meeting

LD0906155193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1533 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with several members of the presidium of the Russian Parliament on Wednesday [9 June].

The meeting took place on the initiative of Deputy Chairman of the Russian Parliament, Nikolay Ryabov, and a number of leaders of parliamentary committees and commissions, including Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, Vladimir Podoprigora, Aleksandr Pochinok, Sergey Stepashin and Mikhail Miyukov.

Upon completion of the meeting they told journalists that Boris Yeltsin had again expressed his regret over the incident which took place on the first day of the constitutional conference.

At a plenary session on Thursday, expected to be chaired by the Russian president, Yeltsin will give the floor to Ruslan Khasbulatov, Ryabov said. "Moreover, Yeltsin informed participants in the conference that at a final plenary session of the constitutional conference the Russian Parliament chairman would be invited to sit in the presidium of the conference."

During the meeting with members of the parliament presidium the Russian president confirmed that the constitutional conference should adopt a resolution on the order of the adoption of a new Russian constitution.

Yeltsin on Arbitration Commission

LD0906190793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Yeltsin] I have introduced a proposal on setting up a constitutional arbitration commission made up mainly of judges from the Constitutional, Supreme, and Arbitration Courts and a range of highly-placed specialists. This way, if dissent should arise on various points in various groups, some kind of decision can be come to for the plenary session. [passage omitted]

Civic Union Urges New Elections

LD0906212293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By Pishchayev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Pishchayev] You got the impression that the political parties and movements section was the most active at today's session. Two press conferences from this section took place at the same time in the corridors during a break from the Constitutional Conference.

[V. Lipitskiy, Civic Union] The discussion of individual corrections is neither here nor there. It seems highly unproductive to us.

[A. Vladislavlev, Civic Union] It would be a great deal better if today, in an atmosphere of concord, we discussed and supported a new law on elections, a new law on federal bodies of power, and appealed to the Supreme Soviet to accelerate the adoption of these laws.

[Pishchayev] That was the suggestion Civic Union representatives gave today. In their opinion, elections to a new two-chamber parliament should be held, only after which should work on the Constitution continue. In their words, the whole section supported this suggestion. [passage omitted]

Khasbulatov on Role of Conference

LD0906190093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1814 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—Russian Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov played down the importance of the Constitutional Assembly to a consultative body whose recommendations might be considered by parliament.

"I hope that it (assembly) will work out fruitful recommendations, advice, and I think we can take them into consideration", the parliamentary press service quoted his as telling U.S. Ambassador in Moscow Thomas Pickering on Wednesday.

Khasbulatov admitted that the assembly has a certain meaning, but only as a consultative body, according to the press service.

Yeltsin Plans No 'Illegitimate' Steps

LD0906190593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1820 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin does not plan any "illegitimate" steps against the soviets and fears that the thesis about the "incompatibility of soviets with democracy was a misinterpretation of his report made on the first day of the Constitutional Assembly, according to Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Legislation, who participated in a meeting of parliament leaders with the president on Wednesday [9 June].

He told TASS that Yeltsin promised to clear up his stand at a plenary meeting on Thursday.

The president "was very benevolent to proposals and remarks of members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and spoke out in favour of adopting the constitution in a legitimate way", Mityukov said.

He added that members of the presidium called to borrow everything positive from the parliamentary draft constitution. "We also spoke in favour of the participation of the Supreme Soviet and the congress in finalizing and adopting a new basic law", he added.

Another participant in the meeting, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Issues of Defence and Security Sergey Stepashin, confirmed that "it was agreed that there would be no illegitimate ways of adopting the constitution". However, he added that there are several "mechanisms of the process and they are all constitutional". He did not elaborate, but stressed that the president and the parliament leaders "agreed on the closest cooperation in the constitutional process".

Yeltsin Reportedly Calls For 'Inquiry'

LD0906211093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Report by Mikhail Ponomarev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Prior to giving the floor to our special Kremlin correspondents, I will quote a report that is fairly important to the representatives of the opposition.

According to the ITAR-TASS agency, President Yeltsin has given instructions for a judicial inquiry to be held on the actions of the security guards during the the opening of the first session of the Constitutional Conference.

Agenda for 10 Jun Conference Reported

LD1006083793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Today the Constitutional Arbitration Commission will start working, which Boris Yeltsin proposed should be set up in addition to the working groups of the Constitutional Conference. This was reported by Press and Information Minister Mikhail Fedotov. He also reported that each of the five groups has elected representatives on the new commission. Members of the Constitutional Commission will also take part in the work of constitutional arbitration.

At an additional plenary session today, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov will be given the opportunity to make a speech. Deputy Supreme Soviet Chairman Nikolay Ryabov and the coordinators of each of the five groups will make reports.

Khasbulatov 'Suddenly Unwell'

LD1006101593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0949 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jun—Speaker of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov felt suddenly unwell and went home from the Supreme Soviet, Yuriy Marechenkov, head of the parliament's press service, reported. He met journalists today to inform them about the hook-up conference held this morning between the leaders of the Russian Supreme Soviet and representatives of all levels of Russia's soviets.

The press secretary links the deterioration of Khasbulatov's health to the immense nervous strain at the conference and the session. The question of whether the parliamentary speaker will take part in today's plenary sitting of the Constitutional Commission remains open, Marechenkov said.

[Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0900 GMT on 10 June adds the following: "There is another important thing to mention: At the end of this intercom conference Ruslan Khasbulatov felt ill and went home. His speech at the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin, whose plenary session is due to open sometime after 1600 [1200 GMT] today, is now in doubt. We have learned that his deputy, Nikolay Ryabov, will address the conference."]

Implications of Conference Walkout Viewed

PM0906132593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Lyubov Tsukanova report: "A New Phase of Confrontation or Echoes of the Old Phase?"]

[Text] It can hardly be asserted with absolute confidence what caused Ruslan Khasbulatov to come unannounced to the rostrum immediately following the president's report. The head of parliament is a man too well practiced and experienced to act without forethought. And when he says that he was instructed to speak by the Supreme Soviet and uses the fact to explain his appearance at the rostrum, he is, of course, perfectly aware that every assembly has its standing orders, and at the very least it is necessary to give notice of a desire to speak. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet has sufficient opportunities for doing so. Consequently it is possible to conjecture within defined, fairly narrow limits. The first theory is that consent was sought but not obtained, and Ruslan Khasbulatov decided to act on the spur of the moment. This is unlikely, because otherwise the speaker's ensuing remarks would certainly have made some allusion to this fact. A second theory is that the speaker was agitated by the trenchant criticism of the representative power contained in the president's report and decided to reply immediately. The criticism was indeed very trenchant. Let us put it like this: too trenchant to expect understanding and support from the section of the audience holding different views on the structure of state power and the correlation of powers among the federal organs in the draft of the future constitution. These are above all delegates from the federal parliament, leaders of the representative organs of power in the Federation components, and leaders of a number of political parties. Russian Federation People's Deputy Vitaliy Vitebskiy, who, as he put it, was moved to the depths of his soul by the initial part of the president's report, in which the latter called for consensus, called the subsequent development of the same report a "declaration of war." A walkout from this assembly, Vitebskiy said, was possible "already during the report."

In general, this theory—of wounded deputy's vanity—would sound plausible if we ignored how insensitive to

etiquette the people's deputies are at their congresses, when not only trenchant criticism but even downright insults are leveled at the supreme officer of the state, and the president hears all this out. But, let us suppose that an insult to oneself is closer to the bone. And Ruslan Khasbulatov, of course, should have been heard out, especially since, in the opinion of Supreme Soviet Presidium member Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, this would have had no political significance, and "the boiling over of passions and the deputies' walkout would have been avoided." Nizhniy Novgorod Governor Boris Nemtsov also believes that, if Boris Yeltsin had with presidential magnanimity given Khasbulatov an opportunity to speak, he should also with presidential resolution have compelled the audience to hear out this seven-minute speech. Nemtsov sees the conflict as demonstrating the weakness of the president's analysts, who did not calculate events and were unable to propose an appropriate solution. Be that as it may, the president's supporters at the conference did him a disservice by "slamming the door" on the speaker of parliament. This suggests not only an absence of political culture but, far worse, an inability to calculate consequences. I will not go into the details of the episode involving Yuriy Slobodkin: In the president's place I would have dismissed my security men that very second for having a poor conception of their professional task.

There is also a third theory—being voiced by the president's radical supporters—according to which the head of parliament deliberately violated the standing orders so as to call in question the work of the conference. But I do not wish to discuss this theory, because in that case all hopes for a constructive development of the constitutional process can be put aside...

Those who walked out together with Ruslan Khasbulatov were not only a significant proportion of Russian Federation people's deputies but also many leaders of the republics, kray, and oblast soviets. This was almost half of the group of representatives of the federal organs of power and the group of representatives of federation components. And it is in these groups that the keenest debate is expected on those sections of the constitutional draft which touch on the demarcation of powers within the federal authorities and between the Federation and its components. One of the most important elements in reaching agreement on the draft proposed by the president is called in question—its initialing by the federation subjects. In a statement made by leaders of the soviets, the condition for their returning to the conference will be—in addition to "free discussion of the problems of constitutional reform at several plenary sessions"—the formulation of Conference proposals "according to official procedures" and their presentation to the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. That is to say, they agree only to the consultative, recommendatory character of the Constitutional Conference decisions, as Khasbulatov has been persistently trying to convince everyone in recent times. And now the Conference's legitimacy, its prestige in the eyes of public opinion, and the weight of its decisions depend on the flexibility of the President and the analytical capabilities of his structures.

The tempestuous beginning to the Constitutional Conference's work is just more proof of the fact that it is essential to continue work on the draft constitution of the new Russia. As Sergey Filatov, the head of the presidential administration, said in the lobbies, to leave the old Constitution in place is to leave society not simply in its former state but also "under the constant threat of unpredictability."

Will the Constitutional Conference's work enter normal channels? Hopes that it may do so are expressed by Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov, Academician Vladimir Tikhonov, and Presidential Council member Yegor Gaydar. Members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, who a few days before it opened signed an appeal to the Constitutional Conference and "the all-Russia Congress of Soviets" to make an end to confrontation and work together on developing an agreed draft constitution, intend to continue their participation in the Conference. "Twenty-four hours to reflect" brought results: On Monday some of those who had walked out returned. Evidently, those who place the interests of the work in hand above emotions. Today the soviets are on the defensive, hence so much excitement bordering on hysteria in the actions of the representative power. It is probably difficult to walk out of an historic arena. But it would do no harm to remember that you should walk out in a dignified fashion. Moreover, not only those who walked out, but those who stayed and those who enter should remember this.

Yeltsin 5 Jun Conference Report Viewed

PM0906172193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Article by Boris Pugachev: "And So the State Again—from Nothing"]

[Text] The scandal at the Constitutional Conference 5 June will be a shameful spot on the currently ruling power. For the first time a new "political style" was tried out, combining the methods of the militarized guard and clannishness.

The president's speech established a number of new political emphases. Essentially it is a case of a unique political manifesto designed yet again "fundamentally" to renew the country.

First, the president has formulated with the utmost clarity the concept of power—"the Soviets and democracy are incompatible." That, of course, is not so, and the president knows it. Because it was precisely the changes in the system of the representative organs which opened the way to democratic transformations and to power for the president himself. This concept has been advanced with a single aim—the elimination of representative organs of power and the justification of the "legitimacy" of presidential power. The assertion of the "illegitimacy" of the present representative organs since

they "were elected on the basis of Soviet electoral law" is cunning. Forgive me, Mr. President, but you also were elected on the basis of "Soviet law."

Second. The task of the day is formulated with the utmost clarity—"we must build Russian statehood." But the actual setting of the task is false because it presupposes breaking with existing state tradition..

Here concepts are deliberately substituted for each other and different phenomena are confused—the totalitarian nature of the "communist" state and the "Soviet" form of its existence. Obviously Mr. President does not know that the "Soviet" type of organization of life is traditional for Russia, it was merely adapted by the Communists for their own purposes.

Third. The president promises "to build a real democratic federation." That is just a slogan. In reality the president's draft constitution does not set that aim. On the contrary it encroaches on the rights of the majority of the Russian population which, according to the president's draft, are put on an unequal basis compared with other peoples of Russia.

Fourth. The idea of the "adoption of a new" constitution is absolutely clear—through the "initialling" of the text of the draft by the components of the Federation and its "approval" by the congress. It is true that the president spoke of "other possibilities."

But there are in fact no other constitutional possibilities. Any steps by the president running counter to the existing Constitution would put academic disputes about the powers' "legitimacy" on a practical plane.

The general conclusion is that the president's report does not so much justify the concept of a new constitution as set forth Yeltsin's political manifesto: legalizing the plan for the adoption of the Fundamental Law by other means ruling out the conservation of the existing constitutional system.

Gaydar Criticizes Both Draft Constitutions

MK0906090693 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 1

[Grigoriy Koshkarov report under the "Position" rubric: "To Get Rid of Demagoguery"]

[Text] **Meeting with journalists recently, ex-premier Yegor Gaydar voiced his attitude to the drafts of a Russian constitution that were under discussion.**

"An excessive number of declaratory promises that cannot be backed today by anything real," said Yegor Timurovich," are present to a huge degree in the Constitutional Commission's version—and in a much lesser degree in the president's version, but they are still there. Consider, what is the meaning of the right to housing in conditions of a real market economy? Which specific state obligations should result from this? Or, say, equal pay for equal work? I beg your pardon, but in a market economy, with all that, payment for equal work is different because it depends, among other things, on market conditions.

"It is this expression of social demagoguery that has unfortunately made its way through separate relapses, I think, into the president's version of the constitution. Although I stress once again that economically there is in evidence a turn toward realism, toward making no empty promises unbacked by practical deeds.

"As for the fundamental questions of structure of state administration bodies, and the rights of various bodies and components of state power, I think that the Constitutional Commission's version, unfortunately, contains too many elements of uncertainty in which way powers are distributed between the president and the Supreme Soviet. There too, regrettably, the possibility of the very dangerous confrontation that exists today remains. As for the president's version, it does away to some degree with the contradictions in this sense. But it too contains some aspects I, for example, cannot go along with 100 percent. I, let us say, do not think that one can write a variant of a constitution in the sole belief that Russia's presidents will always be genuine democrats, champions of human rights and freedoms, of the individual, people above all suspicion who will not abuse the rights given them."

Political Issues

Government To View Idea of 'Current Issues' Panel

PM1006110593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under "Executive Power: Monitoring" rubric: "Sessions"]

[Text] A session of the Council of Ministers Presidium takes place tomorrow. It is proposed to discuss urgent measures to ensure the stable operation of transport within the Russian Federation and a draft federal state program for the development of machine building on behalf of the Russian agro-industrial complex.

It can be presumed that, despite the importance of the first two issues, discussion will, however, revolve around the idea of setting up a Council of Ministers commission for current issues [kommissiya Soveta Ministrov po operativnym voprosam]. Oleg Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent to Viktor Chernomyrdin a draft of the document positing the idea of relieving the chairman of the government and presidium of some of his workload in line with the Russian Federation Law "On the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government" (Article 29). Oleg Soskovets believes that the commission should be charged with examining current issues of ensuring the implementation of the economic reform, coordinating the activity of the federal organs of administration, and monitoring the

fulfillment of the most important decisions of the president and the government, and a number of other questions not assigned to the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers or the government's standing commissions. It is assumed that, apart from Oleg Soskovets, other members of this commission could be Anatoliy Chubays, Aleksandr Shokhin, Yuriy Yarov, and also Andrey Shapovalyants, first deputy minster of the economy, Igor Shurchkov, chairman of the state committee for industrial policy, and Vitaliy Gridnev, deputy leader of the Council of Ministers apparatus. It is well known that the fate of the economic reform depends on the resolution of current issues—hence the significance of this future commission. It will be interesting to see how government members react to this idea.

Shaposhnikov Reportedly To Head Security Council

LD0906204993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 9 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Citing reliable sources within the Russian president's entourage, the NEGA news agency reports that a decree will be signed soon appointing Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, who is now commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, as secretary of the Russian Security Council in place of Yuriy Skokov, who has resigned.

Reshuffles in Yeltsin Administration Seen Possible

MK1006101093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 10

[Mikhail Lashch report: "Consequences of Edict on Personnel Policy. Imminent Resignations Among Presidential Staff"]

[Text] To all appearances, the Russian president is convinced that his political failures are directly attributable to a weak personnel policy. Therefore, in a bid to consolidate the upper echelon of the executive branch, Boris Yeltsin has taken a number of steps to strengthen this link of his power. His latest such step was an edict on formation of a personnel policy council. This new structure inside the presidential administration is seen by observers as a "personnel filter" of sorts to screen all candidates for the top echelon of executive power. Yesterday's consultations in the presidential administration were devoted to the council's composition and its candidate for executive secretary.

According to high-ranking members of the presidential administration, who wished to remain unidentified, the council has already moved to implement a new personnel policy among the top echelon of executive power. Its first stage consists in verifying the political loyalty of members of all presidential administration units.

Your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent has learned of the first results of the check. Anatoliy Sliva, deputy chief of the State and Law Administration, has been relieved of one of his duties—that of presidential representative in the Supreme Soviet at the time it examines legal questions. Sliva will possibly be relieved, on some plausible pretext, of all his remaining duties. The directive relieving Sliva does not of course say anything about the motives of appearance of this document. The matter is that Anatoliy Sliva used to be head of the USSR Supreme Soviet apparatus department for work with soviets—one of the most powerful in the apparatus of the Presidium thanks to the fact that Union Parliament Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov personally liked Sliva and the department he headed. According to unofficial information, following Lukyanov's release from Matrosskaya Tishina a conversation took place between him and Anatoliy Sliva, which became known to chiefs of the administration.

According to information available to KOMMERSANT-DAILY, Dmitriy Rumyantsev, chief of the presidential administration personnel directorate, will soon be fired. Dmitriy Rumyantsev is on vacation at the moment. Rumyantsev is accused of having found a new job for Sergey Aksenov who used to be in charge of economic security matters in the office of State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis. It was revealed at the time of the state secretary's visit to Sweden that, as an officer of the First Main Directorate of the KGB at one time, Aksenov had been expelled from Sweden and declared persona non grata by Swedish authorities. When the state secretary's office was abolished, Aksenov was transferred to the vice president's secretariat to serve as a specialist-expert.

It is not ruled out that Dmitriy Rumyantsev will be succeeded in the seat of the personnel directorate chief by Nikolay Ryabov, former deputy of the Russian speaker. This supposition is also backed by the fact that Ryabov has been stripped of all his functions in the Supreme Soviet.

New Yeltsin Aide Yuriy Baturin Profiled

MK0906115493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 24, 9 Jun 93 (signed to press 8 Jun) p A3

[Natalya Gevorkyan report]

[Text] **We are now one critic of the current policy less—doctor of law Yuriy Baturin has been appointed a presidential aide.**

Everybody wondered why the steady expert and political consultant of the Itogi [Sunday TV news] program was not seen on the screen last Sunday. Baturin is said to have been talked into accepting the new office for two months or so.

Not that this appointment came as a special surprise to political observers. Baturin was one of the authors of the presidential edicts that made a splash in March, and in a not too distant past he was one of the most skilled and harsh analysts of legal documents—both those coming from the Supreme Soviet and those bearing the president's signature.

Is it the president's tactic to enlist critics among his allies? This pays off on one condition only—if former independent experts retain their ability to assess the situation critically regardless of proximity to the throne. Sadly, few can do the trick.

Yuriy Baturin is slightly over 40. He has been through three higher schools—he graduated from the aerospace research department of the Physicotechnical Institute and later graduated simultaneously from a journalism department and a law institute. He defended his doctorate in problems of computer law. He worked as a consultant with the USSR president's staff. Until recently, he divided his time working for the Institute of the State and Law and the Gorbachev Fund.

Baturin was one of the authors of the Press Law. Incidentally, the other author of the same law, Mikhail Fedotov, is rumored to be shifting from the press minister chair into that of justice minister. When this issue was going to press, no edict of the new appointment had reached Minister Fedotov's office.

More on Rutskoy Remarks to Moscow Soviet

PM1006100993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 1

[Yuriy Makhrin report: "10,000 Gold Coins Have Vanished. They Vanished Without Trace After Burbulis Ordered They Be Shipped Out for Exhibit Abroad. 90 Tonnes of Gold Have Also Disappeared"]

[Text] Those facts were cited by Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy at his 8 June meeting with deputies of the Moscow City Soviet, the capital's rayon soviets, and representatives of public organizations. Aleksandr Vladimirovich answered numerous questions for an hour and a half. With figures at his fingertips he cogently demonstrated what two years of so-called reforms have led to.

The death rate in Russia is exceeding the birth rate. Over the four years of the war production in the country fell by 18 percent, but during the time of the "democrats'" rule it has fallen by 36 percent. The president promised the earth in his election program. This was all lies and deception. They promised: "We will solve the problems of mothers and children!" And they auctioned off kindergartens. They vowed to show concern for defenders of the fatherland but have abandoned the Black Sea Fleet to the mercy of fate.

"What is happening in the country? Blood, blood, and more blood. But no one is answering for this. Neither before their conscience, nor before the law."

The guests asked why Russia's budget has not been ratified.

"An unratified budget is a loophole for stealing assets. And a means of evading deputies' oversight. Because you, the people's elected representatives, cannot verify, for instance, why the social sphere has been ruined. Nor is anyone disclosing where taxes are ending up, because to publish the figures is to reduce the opportunities for thieving."

Rutskoy described the January 1992 price liberalization and the resultant devaluation of labor savings as robbery of the people. He tried to defend people and proposed a mechanism for indexing deposits. Yeltsin and Gaydar followed a different course.

"The efficient exercise of justice, responsibility, morality in society, and the fight against corruption and crime depend on the position adopted by the state's top official," the vice president said.

In his view, the mess in Russia is no accident, this is being done deliberately.

The vice president described events in the Belovezhskaya Forest [meeting that agreed to set up CIS] as a preplanned adventure.

"The new Constitution is designed for the same purpose: to stage the forest process all over again."

Rutskoy was asked many questions about his exposures of corruption. He cited new facts.

Rutskoy went on to say:

"You all saw how the president's bodyguard barred the way for the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. There you see the face of the present democracy!"

The vice president regards the tragic events of May Day in Moscow as a bloody addition to the portrait of that democracy.

"The 9 May holiday showed that when there are no cordons and dogs the demonstration proceeds normally. Why was it necessary to block Leninskiy Prospekt? But there is also something else that angers me. One hundred and eleven awards have been handed out to representatives of the OMON [special-purpose militia detachment] and militia under the general formula 'For courage.' For what kind of courage—beating up their own people and veterans?"

In Aleksandr Vladimirovich's opinion, attempts are being made to "put the lid on" the events of May Day to ensure that people forget them. The investigation must be completed.

Deputies adopted a statement. It says, in particular: "Today, in the name of forces absolutely alien to the interests of the majority of citizens, President Yeltsin and his team have mounted a purely neobolshevik struggle of unprecedented scale and cynicism against Russia's constitutional system. We call on Muscovites and all Russians to defend it vigorously."

New Centrist Bloc 'Marriage of Convenience'

PM0906114493 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Meshkov "Commentary": "Mission of Centrists Bloc"]

[Text] So the preelection marathon has begun. The first to enter were the centrists, as was officially stated at their conference on Novyy Arbat in Moscow 2 June.

The Civic Union, which "democratic radicals" (or, to put it more simply, right-wingers—by world standards) G. Popov and K. Borovoy have tried so hard to bury, has succeeded in regrouping and surviving. But to achieve this, Civic Union had to allow onto its political Olympus the leaders of little-known parties of a left-democratic (or socialist) orientation, and to invite into its ranks organizations of women, doctors, dissident servicemen... It is an ill wind: This restructuring has strengthened the centrists' position in society and widened their social base.

However, the present association is no longer the good old Civic Union, which usually meant the Rutskoy-Volskiy-Travkin triumvirate and their parties. What is left is something new, with a different name: the Coalition of Civic Forces.

That is not to everyone's liking. It is notable that certain Civic Union leaders are increasingly frequently feeling nostalgic for the old days, when the political game was played by the rules of a "respectable" society. They are repulsed by the centrists' "radicalism," which began to emerge clearly before and after the referendum. These politicians are bound to be intimidated by the arrival in the centrist bloc of new social forces which suffered under Gaydar's "shock therapy" and got nothing out of the reforms but the "hole in the doughnut."

The "moderates" quite justifiably associate these elements with the aforementioned radicalization of the movement. They are desperately trying to beat back the "populists'" onslaught.

In particular, the target of their criticism is Aleksandr Rutskoy, whose statements objectively reflect the interests of the non-lumpenized working people who have joined the centrists. "Respectable" centrists are annoyed at being forced to go along with the vice president's utterances and statements. At the aforementioned conference, Aleksandr Vladislavlev, cochairman of the Renewal Union (the political wing of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs), for the first time publicly criticized Rutskoy. He reproached him for his negative view of the government at a time when, in Vladislavlev's view, what is needed is to remain calm and support the "pragmatists" within the government—Soskovets, Lobov, and others. In the Renewal leader's opinion, Civic Union's rating has declined due to the fact that it has evolved in the direction of "radicalism." Vladislavlev urged that "emotion" should be kept in check and "constructive" positions adhered to.

This statement could have been expected long ago. I remember how on one occasion at a session of the Civic Union political consultative council A. Vladislavlev urged that "exemplary" bankruptcy be arranged immediately for certain loss-making enterprises. At the time this struck a dissonant note: The other speakers were talking about poverty and other social ills. Nonetheless, nobody objected, everyone was busy drawing up a joint program. But it is always like that in politics: Something that is let slip, apparently in passing, meeting with only vague opposition, later becomes common talk.

One can understand the Renewal leader. The organization's "revolutionary" statements are irrelevant. The Volskiy-Vladislavlev union brings together directors who have already tasted the fruits of the market and concluded that a "liberal economy" is more advantageous than the former administrative edict system. True, today's "industrialists and entrepreneurs" are still annoyed about a state which serves the interests of the compradors. But why swim against the tide, if you can get what you want (concessionary credits, low taxes) by "civilized" means: by influencing "your men" in government.

This category of directors does not provoke such active hostility among the people as Gaydar's "Chicago boys": It is hard to imagine the former pouncing like highwaymen on the population's savings, as the latter did. No, these people live and let live. They let live, for instance, the hired laborers who demand a "market wage to match market prices" and do not feel slighted when a director who has awarded himself a salary of 300,000 coughs up 50,000 each for them. The interests of the latter are voiced by the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITUR], which also belongs to the centrist bloc.

However, the more you go on enumerating the participants in the centrist association, the easier it is to see their social class heterogeneity and the conflicting nature of their ultimate interests. For instance, the "democratic left" (the Labor Party, the Socialist Party of Working People) express the interests of the socialist (not to be confused with the Anpilov communist) intelligentsia and some of the "leading" (as we used to say in the old days) labor collective councils and trade union leaders who uphold the ideas of self-management.

At the opposite pole is "Travkin's party," which, following the splintering off of a series of adherents of Western liberalism, is an organization expressing the interests of national producer capital, aggrieved by concessions to speculative and foreign (which are sometimes one and the same thing) capital. In fact, it is these sentiments, not Travkin's personal predilections, which made the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] join the centrists in the first place. However, the DPR's continued presence within this bloc is becoming problematic. It is well known that Travkin does not have much sympathy with the directorial "wolfhounds" scrounging tasty morsels amid the present economic confusion. He once said so frankly at the Congress of People's Deputies. But the main thing is this: What strategic interests can the DPR have in common with the socialists? For "Travkin's party," another option appears likely—that of the "center right." For instance, there is nothing unrealistic about a coalition of the DPR, the "Entrepreneurial Political Initiative" (of G. Yavlinskiy and K.

Zatulin), the Union of Russian Rebirth (D. Rogozin), and the patriotically minded "White Cossacks" (who got dragged inadvertently into the same team as the cosmopolitan democratic radicals).

However, this is mere hypothesis. But it is already clear that supporters of Stolypin's traditions have nothing in common with the "pinkos"... That is probably why the DPR leader has stopped being seen in the company of the other centrist "big shots," and his party's leadership is clearly in no hurry to sign the Coalition of Civic Forces documents.

But even if the "Travkinites" split off, the coalition will be a marriage of convenience. Each member pursues his own goals. The "democratic left" want to "go among the people," publicize themselves, and after that, begin their own political game. "Rutskoy's party" has to mold its own leader for the presidency. The working people who were hard done by as a result of reforms (united in the FITUR) need political support and a government that will "bear them in mind." The Agrarian Party has an interest in entering the market in a way that would preserve the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. And so on, and so forth.

There is another factor that will eventually surface in the political debate within the new centrist bloc. The fact is that it brings together as adherents of "enlightened patriotism" both pro-state people [gosudarstvenniki] (like Aleksandr Tsipko, Nikita Mikhalkov, Stanislav Govorukhin, and many supporters of Rutskoy and Travkin) and those who are interested in the "Russian idea" only insofar as it is not contrary to the principles of "democratic socialism." Our socialists are still more inclined to be Westernizers than Slavophiles, and "international solidarity" interests them more than "national state interests." Although history has seen examples of "internationalists" coming to power and turning into inveterate "pro-state" figures...

Given this political and social class diversity, the new centrist bloc could be seen as a provisional tactical alliance concluded for the duration of the election campaign. But it is well known that we propose and they dispose. Some grouping or union of political organizations "promotes" its coalition colleagues, and that provides grounds for new dissatisfaction, criticisms, and splits. With such a broad electorate, splits are inevitable... But on the whole the "pinkish" centrist bloc will survive. Until such time as it fulfills its mission and routs its "Carthage"—until it removes the placemen of comprador capital from the government of the country and brings to power a new "coalition of civic forces."

Possible Election Scenarios Viewed

PM0906152593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Professors Viktor Ryabov and Yevgeniy Khavanov: "White To Play and..."]

[Text] The clock of the election battles has not yet been switched on but it seems it has already been wound up. The protagonists have not been identified although the habitues of shows of this kind, the most famous political grandmasters and masters are already on display. But there will also, of course, be novices... Somewhere in hidden offices possible scenarios are being discussed and options are being calculated. On the basis of recent information about the future rivals tactical nuances are being specified. And forecasts are being given—from the most optimistic to the gloomiest.

Providing forecasts before the start is no easy matter. They are usually built on the ratings of the rivals extrapolated from recent setbacks and successes. From visual assessments of their state at present. A part is also undoubtedly played by the inertia of existing reputations. But taken together these elements far from guarantee an accurate forecast. It is well known that surprises are brought primarily by novices.

And another thing: A marathon based on new rules lies ahead. Which rules exactly will be shown by the fuss which has already started over the new Constitution and the new election law. But one way or another the procedure will be different. And that equalizes chances to some extent and to a considerable extent deprives the experienced grandmasters of their initial advantage—experience accumulated in the game according to the old rules. With the new rules they are also novices in their own way.

AND ONLY ONE FORECAST IS VIRTUALLY GUARANTEED. The show called "the big Russian election race" will indeed be noisy, spectacular, and extensive. It will probably grab the attention of society and in such a way as to make people forget their grave problems, affairs, concerns, and even daily bread. For a while! A show is a show.

That applies most of all to political parties which are mushrooming on Russian soil. Politics are their sphere, their elements. And since they have all proclaimed themselves to be parliamentary parties participation in a show like the elections is life itself, one of its brightest and most covered moments. Moreover, here the concept of the borderline state between being and nonbeing current in modern philosophy—the only state in which one's true essence can be revealed—is entirely applicable here.

How many political parties do we have? Something like 100. What any one of them is, is known mainly from its own declarations, statements, and other self-publicity. They are usually unstinting in their assessments of themselves and the claims of many are truly global. So far there are no other objective assessments.

So the elections will provide such assessments. The parties will be tested and their effectiveness examined. They will show who is really a political party representing a particular stratum of the people and who is froth and soap bubbles.

The elections will accelerate the process of the establishment of a multiparty system in Russia and lay the foundation to the transition from quantity to quality. Ambitious leaders of small parties will see that there is nothing for dwarfs to do in big politics. You cannot sail the ocean on a frail canoe, you have to attach it to the nearest big ship and even better to board that ship and become a member of its crew.

BUT MANY PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED IN ANOTHER FORECAST: WHO WILL WIN THE FORTHCOMING SHOW? That question is more complex, for it is a case of an equation with many unknowns.

First of all, where is the watershed, the main line on the barricades, and which sides will the participants be on? Today's distribution of forces in general is marked primarily by its opposite poles: The radical reformist and national-patriotic poles. At present the latter is being joined by a substantial proportion of the communist flank. Between the poles is the very large space of the center represented by the admittedly loose but nonetheless quite influential "Civic Union." It does not share a number of approaches of the radical reformers but on the other hand it is prepared for compromises. That was confirmed in an interview given by V. Lipitskiy with the German newspaper SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (28 May this year). So that changes in the distribution of forces could be very marked.

What problem will be central at the forthcoming elections? The attitude toward the reforms in their present version, the struggle against their overt and covert opponents, or Russia's salvation from degradation and collapse and the people's salvation from poverty? The former scenario, as the April referendum showed, will bring points to the radical reforms and the president's side. The latter will give the opposition dividends. In brief much depends on what tendency gains the upper hand, where the center of gravity will come, and what scenario the participants in the campaign and the main target of their canvassing—the Russian voter—will accept. It is in accordance with this that election blocs will be formed and public forces concentrated.

The second unknown in the formula of the forthcoming big Russian show is the level of organization of the conflicting sides. The referendum confirmed how important that factor is. Relying on the apparatus of the president's vertical power structure and all executive power, the Democratic Russia members have been able to involve numerous organizational levers in their work. Although by comparison with the parliamentary and presidential elections three and two years ago they have retreated markedly. At that time they were helped by many unpaid activists whose numbers have obviously decreased now. Nonetheless they managed to keep afloat during the April toil.

But the reverse is true of the former Democratic Russia members who now head the National Salvation Front. There were many fiery speeches here and resolutions calling for organization and unity and an aktiv is being formed. But there has obviously not been enough organization. Nor unity. And ultimately the approach to the "president versus the Supreme Soviet and congress" dilemma, being the central point of confrontation, was in favor of the president. The same position has been taken by another national-patriotic association—"the Russian national assembly."

None of them defended or supported the Congress. The referendum on this question was reminiscent of a game with one goalpost—both sides were attacking the Supreme Soviet. The consequences could be most lamentable. And if the majority of voters nonetheless expressed themselves against early re-elections of parliament, that was primarily because the rival sides' appeals, which coincided in content, did not have time to reach them and were not accepted by them. The national-patriotic side did not calculate the consequences of its ploy. But this was not simply a miscalculation but a manifestation of a lack of skill in questions of strategy and tactics, obviously unforgivable in big politics.

THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS ALSO LARGELY DEPENDS ON WHO WILL KEEP HOLD OF THE MASS MEDIA, AND ESPECIALLY TELEVISION. Sociological research shows that it is through television that up to 70 percent of Russians receive sociopolitical information and are thus its hostages.

Back in 1942 G. Orwell, observing the development of the situation in Germany, noted that "through the hypnotic effect of radio and television" the opinions and feelings of millions of people "can be controlled like water from a tap."

Under our conditions this was confirmed by the referendum. It was television and radio, especially in the last week, which ensured the president's side the required number of votes. M. Poltoranin, chief of the Federal Information Center, can be reckoned one of the leading directors of the referendum.

How is the situation taking shape in the period of the election campaign? The Constitutional Court confirmed, albeit with reservations, the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies on the demonopolization of television. But it does not look as though the monopolists are in any hurry to fulfill the acts which have been adopted. But there is no doubt that the participation of any party in the forthcoming action without guaranteed television appearances is almost guaranteed to fail.

One may speak of other unknowns influencing the outcome. For instance the time factor. Together with the president the democrats have repeatedly demonstrated a loss of pace in their game and have hopelessly extended it and lost it. But on the other hand they are brilliant during time trouble and are gambling on it: The presidential elections and the referendum were held within the tightest possible schedule. The opposition does not know how to play in time trouble...

And another thing: Who is opening the game? While White has always gone to the democrats they have had the initiative: The constitution, the referendum, the constitution again, the constitutional conference... They have the first move and that even with an absolutely even correlation of chessmen at the start of the game already means a chance of winning. A chance which the opposition has almost always let slip.

And so the clock has not been started. But the start is close.

Military Issues

Grachev, Kolesnikov Attend Officers' Gathering

PM1006102793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Oliynik report: "First Day of Operational Gathering"]

[Text] As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has reported, a three-day operational gathering of Russian Federation Armed Forces leadership personnel opened in Moscow on 8 June. Its work is under the direction of Russian Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev.

On the first day participants attended classes at the General Staff Military Academy on the operational training of troops and heard a lecture on the special features of combat training related to contract-based service. The participants in the gathering were addressed by Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff.

A demonstration exercise in the employment of modern means of concealment and deception in battle was conducted in the afternoon at the V.V. Kuybyshev Military Engineering Academy's training center facility.

Officer Cited on Corruption

LD0906220293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] For the first time since the establishment of the Russian Army, the Ministry of Defense has organized training courses for senior staff of the armed forces at the Taman Division base. In the words of Pavel Grachev, the courses were made essential by big changes in the Army. New service charters are being introduced, and higher staff have become significantly younger. But the main change is the beginning of a change to contract recruitment.

[Begin Grachev recording] (?We consider that) military discipline (?has produced) concrete results. Over the first period of 1993 the number of crimes is four times less than over the same period in 1992. [end recording]

Among the participants in the courses was Burklakov, the commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces, who told journalists that following detailed checks the presidential commission had not confirmed the conclusions drawn by Aleksandr Rutskoy on abuses and corruption within the Group.

[Begin Burlakov recording] I deny all allegations against the leadership of the Group and against the commander in chief personally, against our [words indistinct] of corruption. We have nothing of the kind. We are withdrawing in a [word indistinct] manner. [end recording]

Defense Minister Addresses Personnel

PM0906200993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Oliynik report: "It All Begins With the Regulations. Participants in the Operational Courses for Russian Federation Armed Forces Supervisory Personnel—Taman Division"]

[Text] What do commanders and staffs need to do today in order to ensure that the extremely complex process of reforming the Armed Forces does not bring about a reduction in troops' combat readiness? What are the peculiar features of the everyday activity of the troops at the present stage? What are the specific features of the organization of combat training in the case of servicemen performing their service on a contractual basis?... These and other important questions were at the center of attention of participants in operational courses for Russian Federation Armed Forces supervisory personnel on the second day of their work. The courses were held on the premises of the Taman Guards Motorized Infantry Division under the leadership of the Russian Federation defense minister.

In his speech to participants in the courses Army General Pavel Grachev dwelt on the big changes which have taken place in the Russian Armed Forces since their formation. First, he stressed, a large number of organizational measures have been carried out. Many combined units and units have been relocated to new regions; their billeting and accommodation conditions have changed (mostly for the worse). This has led to shortcomings in the organization of the service of the troops and the whole structure of military life. Outright omissions by the command authorities in the supervision of everyday activity are also taking their toll, and need to be eliminated forthwith.

Second, new, temporary, general military regulations have been adopted in our Armed Forces. In accordance with their requirements clarifications need to be made on a number of questions of the organization of the service and vital activity of the troops, and this, naturally, has an impact on the nature of the tasks being performed by units and combined units.

Third, many worthy generals, admirals, and officers have been promoted to leading posts. However, they do not yet possess sufficient experience of work at the given level of command and control. Our duty is to teach them and pass on to them the experience acquired by the the

Ministry of Defense leadership in the process of the transformations begin carried out in the Army and Navy.

Fourth, servicemen performing service on a contractual basis are now entering the Army and Navy. As of 1 June this year more than 110,000 contract-based servicemen had joined the forces. In the organization of their life, conditions, and training there are a number of peculiar features to which we have hitherto devoted very little attention. Obviously, without a skilled resolution of questions concerning the service of this category of servicemen, we cannot today expect to raise the combat readiness of subunits, units, and combined units.

The main condition for the high efficiency of the supervision of troops and naval forces, Army General Pavel Grachev stressed in conclusion, is the firm enactment of the decisions adopted and the fulfillment of established plans for the combat training of troops. Many circumstances constantly arise in the life of troops which impel commanders to cancel or postpone the implementation of various measures, including in military training. But it should be borne in mind that every postponement of planned activities or involvement of organs of administration in their implementation not stipulated in the plan puts the troops in a difficult position and disrupts their everyday activity. The Russian Federation defense minster requested that participants in the course apprise themselves of all that is positive and steadfastly instill it into the troops.

Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Staff, spoke about the peculiarities of the elaborate work connected with organizing and carrying out recruitment on a contractual basis. Col. Gen. Anatoliy Golovnev, chief of the Ground Forces Main Directorate for Combat Training, also devoted a speech to this topic, dwelling in detail on issues of organizing combat training with contract-based servicemen.

Col. Gen. Vladimir Toporov, Russian Federation deputy defense minister, made an announcement on the procedure for selling vacated military property. Lieutenant General Vladimir Churanov, chief of Russian Federation Armed Forces Rear Services, dwelt in his speech on peculiar features of the material and cultural provision of the troops.

Afterward practical exercises were carried out at the training points—of which there were eight—in which participants in the courses studied in detail organization of the everyday life of a military unit in all its diversity and taking into account the peculiarities of the current phase of development of the Armed Forces.

Grachev Addresses Assembly 10 Jun

LD1006083493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0611 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Naryshkin, Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow June 10 TASS—"The Russian Army is combat-efficient, well-controlled and is a guarantor of stability in our state and of strategic security all over the world," Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev said here on Thursday [10 June], addressing a three-day training assembly of Army and Navy high-ranking officers.

The assembly's final day is attended by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, supreme commander-in-chief of the Russian armed forces.

The minister called the results of winter training in the Army and Navy "encouraging". These results were achieved thanks to a long-awaited psychological swing in the minds of officers and the entire personnel as well as the reviving faith in the Army's future, he continued.

Grachev stressed that this swing took place thanks to measures taken by the president, the government and some parliamentary committees as well as thanks to social programmes for servicemen and their families.

The minister noted that the Army remained aloof from dangerous political intrigues and adventures which, if the armed forces had participated in them, would have plunged Russia into chaos and civil war.

The military did not toe the line of various political parties, movements and groups. Grachev stressed that the Army has only one task and goal—to serve loyally the motherland.

According to the minister, preparations have been virtually over to introduce a new system of combat preparedness and plans for troops' operational employment. He said that inspections in troops showed that most units, formations and Army groups tackled successfully enough the tasks of winter training.

Yeltsin Addresses Assembly

LD1006094593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] The 25 April referendum has shown what most of the politically active population of Russia think, namely that they support reforms and economic and political stabilization, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said today addressing participants in the concluding meeting of a regular training course for the chief command of the Russian Armed Forces.

After 25 April the desire of various political forces to achieve compromise has become particularly clear. That has been demonstrated by the Constitutional Conference, too, which has gathered people holding varying views and standing on varying political positions, the president stressed. Describing the situation in the Russian Armed Forces, the president stressed that last year Russia managed to save its Army, and that this year a full-fledged military reform must be launched.

The president named the funding of the Armed Forces among serious problems. This year the Russian Army received 3.3 million rubles. Taking account of inflation

the Army will now receive 5.35 million rubles. According to the president's estimate, the strength of the Russian Armed Forces in 1995 will be 1.5 million men.

Concerning the problem of the withdrawal of the Russian troops, Yeltsin stressed that Russia must organize the military along American lines.

Further on Yeltsin's Speech

LD1006111993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0948 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Naryshkin and Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, Jun 10—The 25 April referendum has shown what most of the politically active population of Russia think, namely that they support reforms and economic and political stabilization. Russian President Boris Yeltsin said today when he spoke to those taking part in the concluding meeting of a regular training course for the chief command of the Russian Armed Forces. "After 25 April the desire of various political forces to achieve compromise has become particularly clear."

"That has been demonstrated by the Constitutional Conference, too, which has gathered people holding varying views and stands on varying political positions," the president stressed. "Joint constructive work united those who, under different conditions, could find themselves on opposite sides of the barricades," the president stressed. He also said: "Yesterday I visited a number of working groups. The work is proceeding calmly, in a professional and thoughtful way." The president's draft constitution has been improved he said. "Among other things, whole articles and parts of chapters from the Constitutional Commission draft and other drafts are being included."

"If the Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov wishes to speak at today's plenary sitting of the Constitutional Conference, he will be granted that opportunity," the president underlined.

Assessing the situation in the Russian Armed Forces, the president and commander in chief underlined: "Last year we managed to preserve the Russian Army and this year we have to carry out a full military reform. I have regular meetings with the leadership of the Armed Forces and with servicemen," said the president. "It is very important for me to be informed about all the difficult problems encountered by servicemen and to help solve them." Boris Yeltsin noted that Russia has inherited a very disordered military economy. Troops of the first strategic echelon have been left outside Russia. Right now it is necessary to reconstruct and build facilities that could influence the fighting efficiency of the Army.

The president named the financing of the Armed Forces as a serious problem. This year the Russian Army was allocated R [rubles] 3.3 trillion; taking inflation into account it now receives R5.35 trillion. He paid special attention to the structural reconstruction of troops and the Navy. "We cannot afford to set up strong groups along borders, he said. This principle has outlived itself. We need mobile troops."

The president estimated that the strength of Russia's Armed Forces would be 1.5 million men in 1995. Referring to the mixed principle of recruitment to the Armed Forces, Boris Yeltsin noted that recruitment by contract had gone fairly well, although the overall progress of recruitment was unsatisfactory. Maximum use must be made of this experience. The tougher the selection, the greater the competition and, hence, the better for the Armed Forces, the president remarked.

Referring to the problem of the withdrawal of Russian forces, Boris Yeltsin stressed: "We must adopt the U.S. principle of military basing. In this respect, he said, we must rely on our political agreements with leaders of the CIS states. Before the end of 1994, Boris Yeltsin noted, over 170,000 servicemen will have to be withdrawn from the former Soviet republics and other foreign countries. Leaders of many oblasts and krays are expressing an interest in their resettlement.

Referring to the withdrawal of Russian forces from Latvia and Estonia, the president noted: "We will not withdraw these forces until arrangements for their resettlement have been made and until human rights in these states are observed."

Yeltsin Approves Draft Deferment for Artists

LD0906192193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a report from the press secretary of the Russian Federation president: Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree on granting deferments for the military call up of the most talented representatives of Russian art. According to this decree, every year the right to deferment is being granted for up to 600 representatives of Russian art from among the most talented and promising artists.

Baltic Fleet To Reduce Size by 40% Over 18 Months

LD0906114793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] In the course of the next 18 months the size of the Baltic Fleet will be reduced by 40 percent. A high-ranking Russian military official reported this at a meeting to that took place with a group of foreign correspondents not far from Kaliningrad. He said that as a result of reorganisation, 202 ships will remain in the fleet, and it is planned to transfer the approximately 150 that remain to other areas of Russia. He thereby added that that changes in the structure of the fleet are scheduled to be started in 1995.

Supreme Soviet

Parliament Debates Conference Issues 10 Jun

LD1006135393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] We are now going over to our correspondent at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Here is commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy.

[Ruvinskiy] The Russian Supreme Soviet today continued its debate on problems raised yesterday regarding the Supreme Soviet's participation in the president's Constitutional Conference. The tone of the debate was set by the opposition. It was proposed that a complaint should be made to the Constitutional Court about the president's 5 June speech at this conference, on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. It was also suggested that an appeal should be lodged with the General Procuracy about violations of deputies' immunity at this conference, the immunity of Khasbulatov, Slobodkin, and Stepankov. This proposal was supported.

The leader of the Communist opposition, Deputy Lyubimov, felt that the meetings between Yeltsin and Khasbulatov and the U.S. ambassador were extremely suspicious. He believes that all unpleasantness in our state occurs after such meetings. He suggested that the deputies should investigate this. However, this proposal was not supported.

An intercom conference was held here at the Supreme Soviet today. It was conducted by Khasbulatov, his deputy Agafonov, and certain members of the presidium. According to preliminary estimates, 70,000 [as heard] deputies at various levels took part in this intercom conference. The main subjects discussed were, naturally enough, constitutional issues and the situation in the country. The head of the press service of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Yuriy Marechenkov, informed journalists of what took place at this conference. He said that Khasbulatov had given his view of the reasons for the crisis in our state. Let us hear what Yuriy Marechenkov had to say:

[Begin Marechenkov recording] He referred to the absence of moral principles, of constructive principles, in the economic reforms that are currently being carried out. As an example, he referred to the Snickers ideology, which is being foisted on our country. On television screens small children are seen chewing delicious chocolate bars. At the same time, other children throughout the Russian Federation do not even see these chocolate bars, and their parents do not know how they are going to get the money to buy such chocolate bars for their children.

The second point stressed by Ruslan Imranovich was the fact that the executive branch is now imposing a confrontation with the Supreme Soviet. This is being done in an artificial way. This is being done because the economic reforms in Russia are going badly. With every passing day, the people's standard of living gets steadily worse. Therefore, it is quite simply necessary to distract the people's attention from these problems by drawing it to other matters of a political nature, like the holding of a referendum and the kindling of hatred between the executive and representative branches. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] Those were the ideas expressed by Ruslan Khasbulatov at today's intercom conference. The participants in this conference were fairly unanimous in their views. They believe that a single draft should be adopted and only by constitutional means. They condemned the incident that took place on 5 June at the Constitutional Conference. They also condemned the media, especially radio and television, for their coverage of our constitutional process.

The participants in the conference proposed that another all- Russian constitutional conference be held before the end of June, but this time it should be held on a democratic basis, as it was put. Khasbulatov's idea for a 50 percent reduction in taxation levied on all producers was supported at the conference. This idea is now being debated in our society. The idea of holding a referendum on the three constitutional drafts—or on their main points, at any rate—was also supported.

There is another important thing to mention. At the end of this intercom conference, Ruslan Khasbulatov felt ill, and he has now gone home. His speech at the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin, whose plenary session is due to open sometime after 1600 hours today, is now in doubt. We have learned that his deputy, Ryabov, will address the conference come what may.

Violation of Deputies Immunity Status Claimed

LD1006084893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0829 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jun—The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is to request the deputy procurator general to institute criminal proceedings with regard to the violation of the status of immunity of three people's deputies of Russia—Ruslan Khasbulatov, Valentin Stepankov, and Yuriy Slobodkin. This decision was adopted today at the joint sitting of the parliamentary chambers at the proposal of deputy Mikhail Chelnokov, leader of the "Civic Society" faction. He believes that these deputies were insulted on the first day of the Constitutional Conference's work.

Constitutional Conference Proposed for July

LD1006132993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] A proposal to hold a Constitutional Conference under the aegis of parliament in July to discuss the progress of the constitutional reform in an atmosphere of calm and on a democratic basis was expressed at an

intercom conference, which was held today by the leadership of the Russian Supreme Soviet. RIA reports that Ruslan Khasbulatov supported this proposal, which has come from Lipetsk.

Khasbulatov 9 Jun Address on Constitution Issues

LD0906214093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1935 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov at Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 9 June; from the "At the Russian Supreme Soviet" program—recorded]

[Text] As you know, the problem concerning our society boils down to a simple question. A lot is being said and written about this simple question. This question was posed about three years ago by Solzhenytsin in his work "How should we organize Russia?" Of course an important role in organizing Russia belongs to the new constitution as the country's Basic Law, the law which represents, as it were, a social contract, and establishes civil peace and accord. Such interpretation of the meaning of the constitution motivated most members of the Constitutional Commission and of the Supreme Soviet throughout the difficult discussions before various parliamentary and other audiences in the capital as well as in the regions of our country over the last nearly three years.

Frankly speaking, when we submitted the draft constitution for consideration by the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies, the president seemed to understand things in the same way and did not try to exert very much pressure on the congress—although you may remember that even then a parallel draft of the constitution was suggested, written I think by the same people who are the authors of the present draft, i.e. Alekseyev, Sobchak, and Shakhray. Approving the concept and the general tenets of the draft constitution, we were fully aware how far from perfection it was. Nevertheless, the Constitutional Commission and ourselves discussed it here in a series of sessions and we seriously began to improve it. Regrettably, objective reality prevented us from completing this work.

What are the reasons for this? Many reasons are being given. Of course, one could agree with some of these explanations of the constitutional reform being slowed down. One could perhaps make some remarks on the role of the chairman of the Constitutional Commission and on the role of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. One could speak of the reluctance of the Supreme Soviet, the congress and individual deputies to adopt a constitution. There is a multitude of different reasons, and probably all these reasons might be true. However, two factors appear to me to have played a decisive role.

The first one is a lack of fundamental values and standards in the political, cultural, and spiritual life of our society, rejection of moral and ethical principles behind economic reform which is making people defenseless in their daily life and which is devoid of a unifying idea.

The second is confrontation-seeking tactics being imposed by the supreme executive power—this dates back precisely to the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies, which was a portentous congress in many respects.

This congress incorporated the Federation Treaty prepared, incidentally, by ourselves here, within the walls of the Supreme Soviet, and, by suspending this Federation Treaty [as heard], practically suspended a break-up of the Russian Federation at the time since the process of the Union's demise had inevitably spilled over into Russia. The problem of the Union treaty was genetically linked to that of the Federation Treaty, and by concluding this treaty we suspended this process.

Second, and I have already mentioned this, the concepts and main provisions of the draft constitution were adopted at that congress. Unfortunately, it was not this creative aspect of the Sixth Congress that society focused its attention on at the time. Attention was focused, primarily, on our quite well-founded criticism—and everybody recognizes this now—of the government's unreasonable economic policy, and, second, on our attempts, which failed at the time, to step up parliamentary control over the government by somewhat reducing the president's powers. I will recall that the $24 billion which allegedly were promised thanks to Gaydar's prestige were unanimously named as the main reason for the failure of those attempts. This cynical deception, unfortunately, had a strong influence on certain undecided deputies at the time, and as a result the government and executive power in general became used to a regime of lack of control and impunity whatever the results of their decisions. A confrontational style became the norm of behavior, while blackmail and threats became a tool for fighting the parliament and local representative bodies, soviets, as the country's economic situation deteriorated.

It is precisely here that the basis of these disorders and contradictions lies. In connection with this I would like to draw the parliamentaries' attention to the fact that there will be no economic stabilization in the near future. All kinds of comforting words and forecasts, whatever their source, are not true. Specialists, experienced managers, private entrepreneurs, and our own and foreign experts all agree that the economy is entering a state of collapse, a regime of the autonomous destruction of the elements of the production forces. As a result the possibilities of creating prerequisites for a market and competition will disappear altogether, while the national economy will turn into weak regional economic enclaves operating on the basis of barter.

The new government has hardly been able to adopt anything over the past six months in order to correct the mistakes made throughout 1992, but has actually made them worse. Just now our current problem is the way the country is being governed. Of course, in such conditions the strong desire arises to depart from discussing these dangerous themes so that dangerous thoughts do not appear in society, moreover it arises both in the system of executive authority and among parliamentarians who

unthinkingly have supported, and support, this destructive course and did not allow the Supreme Soviet, and are not now allowing the congress, to introduce the necessary corrections. The 25 April referendum and the free interpretation of its results are explained by this logic—hence the strict censorship of the press has been introduced, hence the the repressive principle in internal politics which has appeared, as in the tragedy of 1 May, is reinforced, and hence other ways of thinking are oppressed, even that of allies, never mind the opposition who incidentally, acting within the law, are an indispensable element in any democracy. There is no democracy at all without opposition, a democracy without an opposition is plutocracy.

Thus we are in a so-called constitutional crisis. In such difficult conditions such as the interweaving of general political, economic, social, cultural, and moral crises, in conditions of a profound national depression connected to the collapse of a huge state and national humiliation, and of the interethnic conflicts which suddenly and unexpectedly arose, and of loss of faith in the state and its leaders, suddenly when citizens least of all were thinking, and are thinking, about old and new constitutions, this so-called constitutional crisis was born [sentence as heard]. And finally this well-known Constitutional Conference appeared. I will recall once again that the Supreme Soviet, after a number of discussions—and the issue was not so simple, it is doubtful if anyone should reproach people for not being prepared, for deputies not being prepared, and so on—the issue was very difficult, but nevertheless after very serious meditation and discussions here, a correct decision was taken on complete, constructive participation in this conference, taking into account, no doubt, its consultative, deliberative character.

Regarding the president's report at the Constitutional Conference. Let me point out a number of principally important theses in the report—you have read it, I hope, and you can, of course, examine it more deeply and in more detail. First, the report does not envisage a single conceptual line. The conceptual thesis, for example, on the separation of powers, federalism, local self-administration, the presidency, is insufficiently argued, and is therefore unconvincing. It follows the molds, copies of western patterns without taking into account the geopolitical and polyethical features and historical traditions of the Russian Federation, of Russia's peoples. Of course, there is an active search here for better forms to organize the Russian Federation, this is a completely natural process. It was precisely during this process that the Federation Treaty was developed, and the declaration on human and civil rights was adopted incidentally. Both of these documents were incorporated into the present constitution, and this of course is a major step forward. And they were incorporated in the Constitutional Commission's draft.

Why was such a demonstrative, disdainful attitude shown toward parliament? I think that to a great degree a role is played here by the political inexperience or naivity of a number of deputies and Supreme Soviet presidium members, including Deputy Chairman Supreme Soviet Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, who did not understand the idea of the game forced on them with someone else's scenario.

However, the point is that a dangerous idea is being insinuated—that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet has allegedly adopted a conservative stance, is being led by regressive forces, does not want any compromises; the president will not cooperate with him. Concessions should be made to the president; it is necessary to adopt a progressive, innovating stand on this issue, and so on.

A dual task was being pursued. Ryabov, allegedly to avoid an inevitable split in the Supreme Soviet, was to either force the chairman of the Supreme Soviet to transgress the field of constitutionality and destroy it, or else to carry with him a considerable proportion of the deputies onto that field of great anti-constitutionality.

Of course, these games are not new for me or for the majority of the deputies. Despite various suburban conferences, persuasions, promises of posts, apartments, and so on, I have always considered and I still consider that the people here are devoted to their electorate and to the fatherland. I simply feel sorry for those who in such difficult times are trying to sow discord, trying to bring into play certain personal merits or defects. I should say that if you, my esteemed colleagues here and I were exercising our duty as deputies, our parliamentary duty as we understand it—in accordance with our constitutional and legal duties—such a situation as we had on 5 June would not have taken place, as I see it.

Let as ask ourselves: Why don't we want to use this historic chance we have now to implement true democratic transformations? Why are we trying so hard to restore dictatorship? Only this time it would be anti-communist dictatorship instead of the communist one. But any dictatorship has the same features—trampling on individual liberties, persecution of heterodoxy, fear of truth and, as a consequence, use of lies as means of political struggle, and declaring war on people's power and parliamentarism. Does not all this already flourish today in sufficiently evident forms in our state practice? Such things are rapidly taking shape in our political system.

The directive style of our work is to blame for this. The style of the Supreme Soviet is correctly criticized here, just as I am and many of my other colleagues. Sometimes it happens that two or three committee chairmen literally do not allow the adoption of laws protecting parliament and its rights and prerogatives and envisaging strict criminal penalties for anybody who breaches the prerogatives which are natural to all the parliamentarians of the world. I have been told that, for example, under U.S. law, a specialist, a guard of the president who tries to obstruct the speaker, just like those who insulted the procurator general and Deputy Slobodkin, those actions would carry a prison sentence of from five to 13 years.

In one sense, criminal styles become a norm for senior officials. If the Supreme Soviet really felt it was a parliament, it would have released a range of ministers from their duties a long time ago. It would have provided for investigation into these affairs a long time ago. Does the latest statement on, let us say it outright, the inelegant actions toward the chairman of the Constitutional Court not disturb you?

The idea of a constitutional conference as it was conceived—resulting from the utter inability of its organizers to act in a constructive and conciliatory way—frankly speaking, it has rendered itself obsolete. The attitude to it of the subjects of the Federation—and they should have been the main participants in its work, and they were crudely insulted—differs. About 60 chairmen of oblast, kray, and republican soviets, as well as some chairmen of Supreme Soviets, have at once stopped taking part in the conference's work. They have voiced a resolute protest; sessions of local soviets have already been held in a number of oblasts, delegations have been recalled, and conditions for their return have been stated. What are the conditions? A recantation by the president of the false premise that the soviets and democracy are incompatible. Full participation by the Supreme Soviet in the Constitutional Commission and conference. Examination of all the constitution drafts. An exclusively recommendatory nature for the conference. Constitutional procedures for adoption of a constitution, determined by the current constitution, decided by the Supreme Soviet and the congress. Leaders of 10 republics, who came to the Supreme Soviet yesterday evening, and suggested to us that we return to the conference on these conditions, have already spoken about this.

As you can see, there is nothing to be happy about. Of course, this has dealt another blow at the authority of the state. The basis of power is being washed away under the eyes of society, and the opinion is rapidly spreading that it is incapable of coping with the most important problems, many of which were produced by power itself, and not only by complications in the transition period.

That is why we are to take a decision today on this matter, on the further participation in the conference, to exchange views and weigh up all pros and cons.

A realistic question: Do we want the next revolutionary jettisoning of the entire Russian tradition and this tradition to be declared to be leading nowhere, or are we prepared to move in an evolutionary way, preserving the best from the experience of our fathers and forefathers? In the first instance we must adopt a constitution which is manifestly defective, semi-dictatorial and therefore provisional. In the second instance we must adopt a constitution based on the idea of positive convergence, on the idea of a synthesis of all the best that has accumulated by world experience with our historic result. This is a very serious problem facing us and we should not reduce this to just a struggle between the reactionaries and the supporters of progress, even though, naturally, elements of this also exist in society.

What is more, there are no forces in the country capable of foisting their will on the remaining part of society, even by force. This also needs to be understood. Force will encounter force, however and whoever is getting ready to use it. And the weight of these other forces can no longer be established, unfortunately, in the course of rhetorical exercises. Realizing how imperfect the present parliament is, I nevertheless, point out once again that this imperfect parliament is the last chance of resolving the question of the country's future without acute confrontation which could no longer be confined just to political rhetoric.

Esteemed colleagues, everyone needs to accept this, everyone needs to understand this.

What needs to be done specifically? The situation of course requires the whole of the Supreme Soviet to act vigorously and purposefully and even aggressively. It is necessary to show with deeds that the Supreme Soviet and the corps of deputies are capable not only of adopting laws but also of standing up for the representative power itself. We are not conducting this struggle for our own sake but for a genuinely democratic development of society and reforms in people's interests. We ourselves, jointly with the subjects of the federation, need to step up work on the new constitution. As to possible attempts to resolve this process independently from parliament, we must probably make a special statement that this would be tantamount to a coup d'etat. Such a position is fully shared by the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Today the conference is working somehow or other. We have a choice. First, as you decided at the past sitting of the Supreme Soviet the Constitutional Commission continues work, of course, on the draft constitution.

At the same time, second: Should we take part or continue participation in the work of the Constitutional Conference? Irrespective of the results of the Constitutional Conference, further work on the draft of the new constitution must be carried out in a strictly constitutional way. The point is first of all that the draft constitution must be approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, approved by the supreme soviets of the republics, by oblast and kray sessions of oblasts and krays, by the soviets of autonomous and national okrugs, precisely at sessions. Here we must rule out the so called initialling by representatives of the subjects, whatever "representatives of the subjects" means.

The constitution is finally adopted by the congress, or by its decision it is submitted for a referendum.

Here there should be no so-called initialling by the representatives of the subjects of the Russian Federation. What does representatives of the subjects mean? The constitution is finally adopted by the congress, or the congress decides to put it to a referendum. We should exclusively stick to consensus means of preparing the adoption of the new constitution, and not try to impose

it by using pressure. Of course, we have some serious work to do and I fully share the views expressed here in the Supreme Soviet today: let's work out what is going on here, how things are being done, and this is quite just, they should not think that by doing this they are embarrassing the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, because it supports the idea that the issues are discussed right here in the Supreme Soviet.

The work of our committees and commissions needs to be improved considerably. In any parliament the main bulk of daily routine work for the legislative bodies of power falls on these. And if many of them are working at half speed, or are trying to avoid some work or other altogether, then concrete measures, including organizational, staffing, and other measures should perhaps be taken, though we know well that there are some of the most conscientious workers on each committee, each commission. Work in the commissions and committees should be given an accelerated boost and duplication of their work should be stopped.

Finally, it is time that some leaders of committees and commissions got on with their own immediate tasks, instead of walking around the Kremlin offices and Staraya Square. You remember how in August 1991 I was always having to say the same about some of the deputies. Now, I increasingly have to appeal to the other group of deputies, who, incidentally, behave much worse than the first group did back then.

Esteemed colleagues, the unworthy intrigue and squabbling, the undermining of the Supreme Soviet from inside should stop. Further, we have a whole clutch of laws which we should adopt in accordance with the immediate instructions of the congress, but work on their adoption at the level of the committees and commissions is yet again slowing down. We cannot go on like this, we all have to work more energetically. We must seriously improve our work and urgently adopt all legislative acts relating to the mass media. We have clearly dragged out work here. We have long been criticized in the localities, and rightly so, everywhere I have been, people have said—we are tired of all the rubbish on television, give us some order at least. Now, we have already discussed this many times with Lisin, Vladimir (Pavlovich).

Obviously, we ought to hold more frequently normal, good meetings with the heads and representatives of mass media, the journalists, to whose founding bodies the Supreme Soviet belongs, and not only with them. Generally, perhaps it would be better not so much to criticize the press which is under considerable pressure—it is being literally pressurized—as to adopt with their help the very regulations ensuring their real independence. We do not always think about this aspect when we criticize the press.

A number of conferences should be held at the Supreme Soviet in the near future concerning urgent issues and sittings. They have, as a matter of fact, already been mentioned here today, for example, regional budgets, combating crime, conversion issues, and agrarian reform. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that in the heat of rebuffing attacks on representatives of power bodies and the soviets, we should not give up constructive cooperation with the government in tackling urgent issues and tasks. After all, it is not only the parliament and the soviets that political hawks are trying to crush, but also the government, whose freedom of action and maneuvering is considerably restricted.

Why could not the Supreme Soviet, together with members of government, hold a sitting where they could discuss in detail, citing concrete facts, without any political accusations, the results of the past six months in the economy, and talk over the steps which need to be taken in order to bring the situation back to normal, if this is still possible. In fact, we have already talked about this. So, esteemed colleagues, let me finish my speech at this. Thank you for your attention.

Parliament Debate Over Taxation Viewed

LD0806155393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1540 GMT on 7 June carries the "Echo of the Week" program, presented by Igor Pototskiy. The 30-minute program analyzes economic events of the past week.

Pototskiy gives a detailed account of the debate in the Supreme Soviet over taxation. The Supreme Soviet is split on this issue. A guest of the program, Sergey Shatalov, chairman of the parliamentary subcommittee for taxation, points out: "Two points of view, both extremist and both equally unacceptable, have clashed today. The government is suggesting to tighten taxes very substantially and to introduce specialized taxes," the ones that will be channelled specifically into different industries. This will bring about, in Shatalov's words, "additional budget deficit of no less than 3 trillion rubles. This is an abominable scenario."

Shatalov continues, criticizing Khasbulatov's proposals to cut the taxation of commodity producers by 50 percent: "The simplest estimates show that as a result, the budget deficit will grow from approximately 7.3 trillion rubles to 20 trillion rubles and everything will collapse again. Such inflationary shock is hard to imagine."

Pototskiy goes on to comment on Khasbulatov's stance and policies, with which he strongly disagrees. Yeltsin's adviser Sergey Stankevich, who is also one of the program's guests, adds, returning to Khasbulatov's taxation move: "Regarding the speaker's proposal to cut taxes by 50 percent, it conceals something of a more serious nature than just an attempt to collect extra Brownie points. Now our industrial and business communities are in the process of political self-determination. There is a well-known union headed by Volskiy [Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs], a coalition is being formed under Yegor Gaydar's leadership, the Commonwealth

agro-industrial association is growing roots very fast, and other industrial associations are appearing."

Stankevich continues: "The business community has a serious intent to influence political developments. It is clear that the one who will establish good close relations with these industrial associations—which are backed by money, enterprises, material capacities, communications, transportation, and so on—this person will have a firm stronghold in our political struggle, including our electoral campaign."

Pototskiy moves on to the Constitutional Court's decision to bring savings in line with inflation. Commenting on this issue, Stankevich says that the main political goal is to restore consumer confidence in the Savings Bank and in the state in general.

Pototskiy brings up the 5 June opening of the Constitutional Conference. Stankevich states that republics are now enjoying a more favored status than regions, and that Yeltsin has not yet made any "excessive sacrifices" to regions. Therefore, Yeltsin will have to pay a price to achieve accord with republics and regions in order to have his constitution accepted.

Stankevich goes on to say: "The question of unity of Russia is a question of life and death for us. We have no other way out. I am convinced that it is not the Constitution at any price that we need. This is a single, whole, and potentially powerful state, and the future of this state is not the price that we should pay for the Constitution. This is very clear for the president," Stankevich concludes.

The final part of the program focuses on the impending economic decision to sharply increase taxes on wages—rumored to be up to 100 percent, should wages exceed twice and over the minimum level, in order to compensate for pay-outs in settling deflated savings. Stankevich points out in relation to this issue that there is an urgent need to have economic decisions coordinated with political decisions, in order to achieve anything at all.

Ambartsumov Briefs Press on Foreign Policy Issues

MK0906095093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 10

[Andrey Yedemskiy report: "Commission Head Spoke From Centrist Positions"]

[Text] Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Russian parliament's international affairs commission, spoke with journalists at the Hotel Radisson Slavyanskaya international press center yesterday on topical questions of Russia's foreign policy. The committee head tried to delineate some sort of a centrist course in a sphere that has more than once been a subject of heated discussions in parliament. This was also an occasion for the member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium to react to Ruslan Khasbulatov's proposal last week "to see where we stand" on the constitutional process issue in Russia. Mr. Ambartsumov gave to understand that he disapproved of the speaker's position.

On Shaping of Russian Foreign Policy

According to Mr. Ambartsumov, the confrontational trend is strong in parliament, but despite all its rough-and-tumble, the Supreme Soviet's activities benefit Russian foreign policy. The committee and the Foreign Ministry have lately been succeeding in hammering out a common approach. In the wake of Yuriy Skokov's resignation, the Security Council has not bestirred itself while Andrey Kozyrev and the Foreign Ministry lay down the foreign policy line. The president cannot go into all the details, but he "determines priorities."

On Ukraine's Nuclear Status

Recent events demonstrate that Kiev seems to be rethinking its former approach to the nuclear problem and intends not to hurry in acting on the Lisbon accords. Russia cannot very well pressure Ukraine—it may be accused of a recurrence of imperial ambitions. The achievement of Ukraine's nonnuclear status is a task for the world community, the nuclear powers, and primarily the United States.

Relations With Japan

Moscow should admit the tactlessness of scrapping Yeltsin's visit last fall. Tokyo, too, should take into account the fact that the president, by virtue of his character, and Russia are not objects from which bringing pressure would yield a positive result.

On Parliamentary Speaker and New Constitution

Yevgeniy Ambartsumov observed that he bears the speaker no personal grudge because the latter does not meddle in the activities of his committee. But his "rudeness, tactlessness toward deputies" cannot but provoke a sense of protest. Khasbulatov prevented parliament from being involved in the constitutional process. According to Khasbulatov, however, more provisions than one could have thought would be included in the constitution from Rumyantsev's draft.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Aide: Mordovian Problem Not Yet Settled

LD0906124193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1113 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—Spokesman of the Russian President Vyacheslav Kostikov distributed a statement on Wednesday [9 June] which says that the Presidency in Mordovia, a republic within Russia, has not been cancelled by the constitutional court and the president of the republic constinues to fulfil his duties according to a decree of President Boris Yeltsin.

"The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation in fact has transferred the issue about the constitutionality of the law of Mordovia on eliminating the posts of the President and Vice-President of Mordovia to the Constitutional Court of Mordovia," according to the statement.

Thus there has been no final legal decision on the issue, the document said, adding that the Russian president had instructed the prime minister to render all the necessary assistance to the president of Mordovia in executing his duties.

The Mordovan president will remain in power until the final decision on the problem is adopted by the Mordovian Constitutional Court, the statement said.

The post of the president in Mordovia was cancelled by the local parliament.

Mordovian Parliament Building Placed 'Under Siege'

LD0906214693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The events taking place in Mordovia are being given legal basis by lawyers. However, they are being given different interpretations—from a legally executed action to a putsch, Mordovian style. The Council of Ministers formed by the Mordovian parliament decided to act without waiting for a decision from their Constitutional Court. On the instructions of Valeriy Shvetsov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, the government building has been placed under siege. Members of the government of Vasiliy Guslyannikov, the generally elected president, are not being allowed into their offices. The press is not allowed in either. In the absence of the president of the Mordovian SSR, the apartments of power have been occupied by a parallel government. Their guards have once more grown tired of waiting. [Video shows unidentified persons in corridors and offices, Guslyannikov's nameplate being removed from door]

Mordovia Gas Pipeline 'Paralyzed' Following Explosion

PM1006103793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By Vyacheslav Kislyakov from Mordovia; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The fire which broke out as a result of a powerful explosion on a gas pipeline in Mordovia took until almost 4 o'clock this morning to put out.

[Kislyakov over video of damaged pipeline] The tragedy occurred 7 June. At 1500 a series of powerful explosions rang out at a compressor station facility on a section of the Urengoy-Yelets pipeline which runs through Mordovia's Torbeyevskiy Rayon. A column of fire 1 kilometer high rose toward the sky under colossal pressure. An emergency rescue service team which arrived promptly at the scene of the accident could not get close to the seat of the fire immediately because of the high temperature. Later it emerged that the explosion had completely destroyed the gauge unit. One person was killed, and four people are in the intensive care unit of the republic burns center. One of them is in an extremely serious condition, according to medical staff.

At present all six lines of the export gas pipeline which supplied 475 million cubic meters of natural gas daily to consumers in our country and abroad are completely paralyzed. [Video shows scene of the accident, mangled pipeline.]

Chernomyrdin Meets Maritime Kray Leadership

LD0906213893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] A meeting between Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and the leadership of the Maritime Kray has taken place in Moscow. During a conversation they discussed topical questions of forming tariffs, granting credits for commission of enterprises which are extracting coal, as well as paying off budget debts of the Maritime Kray.

Vorkuta Miners To Strike, Want To Meet Yeltsin

PM0906155593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Dneprov report: "Vorkuta's Miners Prepare for Strike"]

[Text] The "Zapolyarnaya" Mine in Vorkuta has stopped coal extraction. Other mines and mine construction administrations at which the Independent Miners Union [IMU] of Vorkuta has declared a prestrike situation may follow suit at any moment.

This trade union's council of representatives has demanded that the Russian Government eliminate the wage agreement and subsidy arrears, process mutual settlements, and in the future set aside funds each month without delay to implement the wage agreement. Moreover, in a letter to Russia's president the Vorkuta IMU is insisting that he meet with representatives of the Russian IMU before 10 June. If these demands are not met, the IMU will urge miners to strike indefinitely.

The Vorkuta leaders of trade union committees within the coal trade union federation support the idea of meeting with the president. But they take a negative view of an indefinite strike. In the opinion of this federation's members, striking is not a very effective means of campaigning today. Trade union leaders believe that it is more beneficial to "squeeze" the government at the negotiating table.

However, "Zapolyarnaya's" patience snapped before the trade unions' talks with the government came to an end because miners have not been paid for two months since

the mine has no money. This lack of money has fueled the situation at other mines too.

Oil Discovery Reported in Birobidjan

OW0906122193 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 8 June 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Estimated petroleum reserves in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast amount to at least 100 million tonnes. This was reported by Feliks Ryanskiy, the director of Birobidjan Institute for Analysis of Regional Problems. The evaluation of petroleum reserves was performed by a commission of experts who examined data obtained through geophysical research conducted for many years. Representatives of U.S. petroleum companies are ready to begin a detailed survey of the zone containing petroleum deposits.

Volgograd Nationalists, Communists Pressure Media

PM1006143193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Valeriy Kornev report: "Picket on IZVESTIYA Office Lifted, Pressure on Press Continues"]

[Text] Volgograd—The open-season on picketing the IZVESTIYA office, announced by the national patriots' "Russkiy Dom" [Russian House] political center, came to an end 5 June.

This is not the opposition's only public action. The "Russkiy Dom" Council, the board of the Volgograd organization of the Russian National Union [rossiyskiy obshchenarodnyy soyuz], and the Russian National Assembly oblast duma organized a picket of the oblast television and radio committee and made a number of demands—among them the demand that spiritually bankrupt bourgeois programs not be given airtime, Soviet films be shown, and the "600 Seconds" program be aired on Volgograd TV.

Another wing of the opposition—representatives of the Russian Communist Workers Party and the "Working Volgograd" movement—held a rally outside the oblast soviet and oblast administration building. A poster stated their aim—"No to Yeltsin's Constitution." And they demanded that a Soviet Constitution be adopted. Money was collected at the same time amid calls over a bullhorn: "Give your ruble to combat the bourgeoisie, speculation, and the mafia!"

On the same days, 3 and 4 June, a "statement for the press" was heard on television and radio and published 5 June in the newspaper founded by the oblast administration. The "statement," bearing the signature of the oblast administration information bureau, discussed the article entitled "Volgograd Authorities Still Opposed to Reforms" (IZVESTIYA No. 95). It is worthy of note that there is no reference at all to the specific facts cited in the article. The "statement for the press" contains a striking expression to the effect that, like previous material, "this article too was couched in the form of a political denunciation." Let us leave the Communist Party terminology to the conscience of the information bureau head. Most likely they are trying to use this terminology to conceal a desire for the central press to provide filtered information that suits the local authorities.

The document on "Russkiy Dom" national-patriotic political center notepaper that was put through the IZVESTIYA office mailbox says: "This is the first protest step." A similar warning was given when the oblast television and radio committee was picketed.

Ryazan Oil Refinery Facing Problems Due to Nonpayments

LD1006141993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By unidentified correspondent; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] The Ryazan oil refinery supplies gasoline, fuel oil, and solar oil [type of diesel] to the whole of central Russia. Aviation fuel is delivered through pipelines from here to Moscow airports. Prices on fuel have risen sharply and it would seem that the enterprise should do well. However, there is a paradox. The supplier of one of the scarcest products has great difficulty in finding money for the desperately needed renovation of the enterprise, whose equipment has been used to its limit.

Moreover, the enterprise has no money to pay oil producers. Fuel consumers owe an astronomic sum of money to the enterprise; 40 trillion rubles.

[Yu. R. Vasilenko, director of Ryazan enterprise] There is a near balance of nonpayments: We are not paid and so we do not pay either. So, there are difficulties between oil producers and oil refineries, and not only in Ryazan, but at all enterprises in our industry.

[Correspondent] The raw material is supplied to Ryazan from the northern Tyumen oblast. For now, prices on oil have risen only because of the increase in prices for its transport. However, oil producers will not work without pay for much longer. Some of them have already offered oil for 25,000 [currency not specified] per tonne. So, if payments are not sorted out very soon, prices on oil products will start creeping up yet again.

International Affairs

Germany's Kohl Visits To Discuss Relations

LD0906170793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1552 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Kiev, 9 Jun (UKRINFORM-TASS)—"Relations with Ukraine are very important to Germany. I have long been planning a visit to Ukraine and am glad this intention has been fulfilled," German Chancellor Helmut Kohl told journalists upon his arrival in Kiev.

He said: "We have every opportunity now to build new, good relations with an outlook for the future with all our neighbors."

"We must all of us learn a lesson from history," the German chancellor said. "In this stormy century, we all have shed many tears and suffered many tragedies, but now we are ready for constructive work in order to establish peace and we have a good chance of achieving this."

Kravchuk Stresses Importance of Ties

LD0906201593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1950 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By unidentified UKRINFORM correspondents for TASS]

[Text] Kiev June 9 TASS—Germany is a major Ukrainian partner at present and cooperation will continue, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said on Wednesday after signing a bilateral declaration with visiting German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

He added that last year Ukrainian-German trade exceeded two billion German marks.

The Ukrainian president said the signed declaration opens a new stage in bilateral relations. The major objectives of cooperation have been defined and Ukraine will strictly abide by the document. "We attach priority importance to relations with Germany", Kravchuk said.

Kohl praised Ukraine as a stabilising factor in Europe and said negotiations were held in a "friendly atmosphere".

He said Bonn will support the young independent state and will cooperate with it on the basis of friendship and respect to the Ukrainian people.

Both Germany and Ukraine are interested in the construction of a new Europe united by common values and which will live in peace and mutually beneficial cooperation, according to the chancellor who also called to boost political, economic and cultural contacts.

Kohl Urges Kravchuk To Allow Nuclear Inspections

LD0906165793 Hamburg DPA in German 1516 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Kiev (DPA)—During his first official visit to Ukraine, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, speaking today in Kiev, underlined West Europe's great concern about the condition of the nuclear power stations in Ukraine, the second largest successor state of the Soviet Union. Experts believe that they are unsafe and highly dangerous. German delegation circles said that, in agreement with the United States, Kohl had also raised the subject of Ukraine's nuclear disarmament and he had strongly urged President Leonid Kravchuk to allow international inspections. [passage omitted]

Further on Nuclear Arms, Economic Aid

LD0906194893 Berlin ADN in German 1745 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Kiev (ADN)—Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk discussed the current state and future prospects of bilateral relations in Kiev today. The two politicians also devoted great attention to the issues of the ratification by the Ukrainian parliament of the START I disarmament treaty and the accession of Ukraine to the Lisbon Protocol on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. ADN learned that the chancellor offered Ukraine Germany's help in disposing of the highly toxic fuel for the former USSR's nuclear missiles still stationed in Ukraine.

Another issue discussed in their private talks was financial and material support by the Federal Republic for Ukraine. Kohl affirmed that Germany will continue to support the economic reforms in the former Soviet Republic. Protection of the environment and reactor safety would be priority areas, Kohl said. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian head of state later gave a dinner in honor of his German guest.

Tomorrow, before continuing his journey, to the Bulgarian capital, Sofia, Kohl will inform the press about the results of his talks. [passage omitted].

Kravchuk, Kohl Issue Press Statement

LD0906233393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, has arrived on an official visit to Kiev, Ukraine. [passage omitted]

The signature of important bilateral documents, in particular the declaration on the principles of relations between Ukraine and the Federal Republic of Germany, took place in Kiev. The agreement between the government of Ukraine and the government of the FRG on cooperation in matters of citizens who were deported will be signed tomorrow.

Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, and Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG, made a statement for the press.

[Begin Kravchuk recording] Even now, one can say without exaggeration that the visit of the federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany to Ukraine,

the Ukrainian-German negotiations held today, and the signing of this document signify a new stage in the development of relations between Ukraine and Germany.

The declaration will doubtless impart a new quality to Ukrainian- German cooperation and will create the proper contractual and legal basis for our cooperation in the political, economic and cultural spheres to be strengthened.

I would like to note with satisfaction that in the course of the conversation with the federal chancellor we were able to exchange opinions on a wide variety of issues and ascertain the identity or proximity of Ukraine's and Germany's positions on directions and ways of bilateral cooperation and on working together on settling international issues.

I would like to stress that Ukraine attaches priority significance to relations with Germany. Of course, the economic crisis in our state restricts opportunities for bilateral cooperation, but we think this is a temporary phenomenon.

Germany is one of our leading partners today. The volume of trade between Ukraine and Germany exceeded the sum of 2 billion German marks [DM]in the past year. In Ukraine, 89 German firms have opened their missions. The work of large banks is unfolding, and 79 Ukrainian-German joint ventures are in operation.

We are grateful to the government of the Federal Republic of Germany for this and also for the support it provides for Ukraine in the process of its integration in international (?and) European (?circles).

Mr. Kohl's visit to Ukraine and the documents that have been signed attest to the fact that it is not only Ukraine that is interested in the development of relations with Germany, but it is also Germany that is interested in stability in the East and that looks on Ukraine as one of the factors of this stability.

Both the document that has been singed just now, and documents which are still to be signed, will lay the foundation of further developing and improving our relations. I am certain that they will impart to our relations a truly partner-like and mutually beneficial character. [end recording]

[Begin Kohl recording, in German fading to Ukrainian translation] Esteemed Mr. President, my much esteemed ladies and gentlemen.

First, Mr. President, let me thank you for a genuinely wholehearted reception which my delegation and I were given.

We have already held the first round of intensive talks and negotiations, and the atmosphere at these negotiations today was very pleasant and benevolent.

This visit to Ukraine, to this very old and glorious capital city of Ukraine, means very much to me.

Mr. President, all of us are now experiencing a dramatic situation both in the world and in Europe. Incidentally, we, Germans, were given a great present of (?reunification). There arise a great many problems accompanying this present, but at the same time there arise great possibilities. And for this I would like to say thank you. (?The thing) is that, based on old relations and traditions, new traditions can be founded between Germans and Ukrainians, between Germany and Ukraine.

First, I wish to tell you, Mr. President, and your fellow countrymen, and I would especially like to stress, that Germany wants to maintain intensive and friendly relations with all the republics of the former Soviet Union. Having come here to Kiev, I would like to stress that the West and Germany in particular want to maintain good relations not only with Russia, but also with Ukraine, to maintain these relations both with Kiev and Moscow.

Mr. President, we have just signed this important document, and I would like to say that this document continues long-standing and very good relations and traditions between our people. However, we are also blazing the trail in many respects.

Official relations have only existed for a year and a half. We have already achieved great progress, but you and I both know for sure that we have to achieve much more. That is why you and I have to do some work today and tomorrow and figure out what fields of our relations need to be intensified by us.

Speaking to you, I would once again like to repeat that the Federal Republic of Germany wants to consolidate (?its) relations with you. This also corresponds with the purpose of this document.

We, (?our two) countries, are interested in building a new Europe, united by new values, which will live under conditions of peace and cooperation.

Mr. President, if we want to, and we both want to do this, we can develop these relations between Ukraine and Germany on the pattern of good and amicable relations. [end recording]

'Principles of Relations' Declaration Signed

LD0906203093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2019 GMT 9 Jun 93

[UKRINFORM correspondents Viktor Demidenko, Aleksey Petrunya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev June 10 TASS—The talks between the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl ended in Kiev on Wednesday [9 June] by signing a joint declaration on fundamental principles of relations between Germany and Ukraine. The sides expressed their readiness to develop close cooperation for the benefit of their nations and pointed out the importance of the construction of a new Europe, united by common values, and turning it into a continent of peace, security and cooperation. They

reiterated that the respect for human rights and freedoms, principles of humanity, democracy and a law-governed state are is the foundation for the construction of new Europe.

The declaration says that both states would develop their relations in keeping with international norms, abiding by principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of the borders and peaceful settlement of disputes, repudiation from the threat or use of force and respect for human rights, including the rights of ethnic minorities.

Germany and Ukraine stressed the need to continue the process of disarmament and exercising arms control in the sphere of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and its logistics systems and in the sphere of conventional weapons. Germany expressed its readiness to support Ukraine in the implementation of its commitments on disarmament.

The declaration attaches a particular importance to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation. The establishment of a bureau of a representative of the German economy in Ukraine, which will open in Kiev in 1993, and the opening of a similar bureau in Germany will promote the development of the economic cooperation, the declaration said.

The sides expressed their intention to cooperate in the sphere of the environmental protection and develop cooperation in culture. Ukrainian citizens of German extraction will be provided with all necessary conditions for preserving their national identity, the declaration said.

Kravchuk-Yeltsin Summit on Black Sea Fleet Postponed

LD1006090693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] The meeting of the Ukrainian and Russian presidents devoted to the Black Sea Fleet, scheduled for this month, has been postponed indefinitely.

This was announced by Deputy Ukrainian Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk. According to him, Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin will not be able to meet until a common approach to the issue of dividing the fleet is worked out.

At present, Tarasyuk said, Ukraine had nothing to offer.

Russian Negotiator Explains Position on Fleet, Sevastopol

AU0906143593 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 8 Jun 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Andriy Chyrva, correspondent of the NOVYNY Television and Radio Broadcasting Agency, specially for HOLOS UKRAYINY: "Sevastopol—the Shore of Anxiety or the Shore of Hope?"]

[Text] **Ministers Promise To Make the Presidents' Life Easier**

As already reported, on 4 June, Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev was in Ukraine on a one-day working visit. The trip undertaken by the distinguished guest from a neighboring foreign state was supposed to provide an answer to the question on the course of preparations for the meeting between presidents of the two states where problems of dividing the Black Sea Fleet will be discussed. It also had to somehow reflect the official Moscow's response to the hoisting of St. Andrew's flags, something which undoubtedly hampers the normal continuation of the negotiating process. In Kiev, A. Kozyrev was received by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and had a conversation with him. In the second half of the day, the Russian minister and Anatoliy Zlenko, leader of our state's External Political Department, visited Sevastopol.

From the "Belbek" Airport, the ministers immediately went to the antisubmarine ship "Kerch."

During meetings with the crew, as well as with commanders of the Black Sea Fleet, a broad circle of problems was discussed. The most important problem concerned the status of Sevastopol and the legal status of the servicemen of the Black Sea Fleet, their material situation, and dual citizenship.

As A. Kozyrev and A. Zlenko pointed out, the positions of the sides coincide on many points. The main thing is that any decision, whether on the division of the Black Sea Fleet, or on its reorganization, must not lead to maintaining two fleets that would be opposed to each other. They must be parts of the Armed Forces of the two friendly countries. According to the Russian minister, for a certain period of time, the fleet must function as a single organism, and then, on the basis of decisions to be adopted, it is necessary to conduct a necessary reorganization. However, in any case, this must proceed in accordance with a distinct plan and in an organized manner, so that the good neighborly relations are not harmed.

The heads of the external political departments also stated that the preparation of a political foundation for the meeting between the two presidents involves certain differences of opinion. They concern details and some concrete questions that need to be further specified and clarified. Notwithstanding this, pointed out our minister, a constructive approach prevails at the negotiations, for the sake of finding mutually acceptable decisions that would make the life of the two presidents during the forthcoming meeting "easier." We will soon learn about the place and the specific date of holding it.

In view of the fact that the ministers outlined the problem in general terms, I turned to Oleksandr Smyrnov, one of the [Russian] participants in the negotiations between the Ukrainian and Russian delegations, with a request to give more specific explanations.

"Today, we discussed the principles of dividing the Black Sea Fleet. Not so much the fleet, as the shore. Everything is clear about the fleet: By half, in equal proportions. As regards the shore, Ukraine believes that it is its territory and that it may only lease it out. However, we are asking that it also be divided. Not the land, because we agree that it is Ukrainian, but just what is directly pertinent to the functioning of the fleet. In principle, we agreed on leasing, but it must also be discussed for how long we can do that—for 99 years or for five years. The question of what needs to be done with St. Andrew's flags is also acute. We understand Ukraine's position to the effect that they must be lowered. However, how to do this? How to influence the crews? Which form of resolving the problem to adopt? Regarding the calls for transferring Sevastopol to Russia, we do not raise such a question. We understand the principle of territorial integrity, so why should be violate it?"

What conclusion may be made following the visit to Kiev and Sevastopol by the Russian minister of foreign affairs?

Of course, it did not give answers to all questions. Nor did it find the guilty party. Perhaps, it somehow stabilized the situation in the Black Sea Fleet, but it did not remove the acuteness of the Sevastopol issue. However, the sides made yet another step toward resolving a question, which is essential in interstate relations—how to divide the Black Sea Fleet in a civilized manner and definitively.

Cooperation Planned With Israel's Secret Service

LD0906185693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1541 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Odessa June 9 TASS—General Ya'aqov Lapidot director-general of the Israeli Police Ministry, ended his official four-day visit to Ukraine on Wednesday [8 June]. His visit was aimed at working out an effective model for cooperation between the Ukrainian and Israeli secret services.

The Israeli general arrived in Ukraine at the invitation of Ukrainian interior minister, Colonel General Andriy Vasylyshyn.

The two parties discussed ways of combatting organized crime and international terrorism, regulating security measures taken at the air routes between the two countries and at the navigable line Odessa-Haifa-Odessa.

Vasylyshyn noted that the two countries developed cooperation in the light of the statement made by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk during his visit to Israel in the beginning of the year, which specified that Ukraine treated its relations with Israel as one of the top priorities in its Middle-Eastern policies.

For his part, General Lapidot emphasized the importance of enhancing contacts with the Ukrainian counterparts. In his opinion, it will enable both parties to elaborate an effective joint strategy for combatting crime and ensuring economic and humanitarian exchange between Ukraine and Israel.

The two parties have agreed to exchange in the nearest future their police officers who will be given broad powers to coordinate joint actions.

General Lapidot left Kiev on Wednesday.

French Armed Forces Chief of Staff Arrives

LD0906165593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Admiral Jean Lanxade, chief of staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of France, arrived in Ukraine today.

During the high-ranking official's visit to Ukraine, he will meet in Odessa with Colonel General Vitaliy Radetskyy, commander of the Odessa Military District, and members of the district's military council, and will visit the Nikolayev shipyard and engineering works.

It is planned that during the next two days the admiral will meet Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk, Defense Minister Col. Gen. Kostyantyn Morozov, and Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

National Affairs

Over 60 Donetsk Mines, Enterprises on Strike

LD0906175393 Kiev Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Another sharp increase in the prices of food and industrial goods has contributed to exacerbating the socio-political situation in various regions of Ukraine.

According to a report from Donetsk, over 60 mines and industrial enterprises have stopped work there. According to the Donetsk strike committee, a number of mines in Gorlovka, Yenakiyevo, Krasnoarmeysk, Pavlograd, Selidovo, Krasnodon, Torez and other areas are not working today. The miners' demands include indexing the population's deposits, determining the minimum living standard budget, and adjusting pensions, students' grants and wages for all workers on the basis of this budget.

A number of political demands have also been made by the strike participants.

[Moscow ITAR-TASS in English at 1126 GMT on 9 June adds: "Seventy-six out of 120 coal mines in the Ukrainian city of Donetsk are on strike on Wednesday and miners of the neighbouring Dnepropetrosk and Lugansk regions are reported to have followed suit. Local metallurgists are deciding on Wednesday whether to join the protest lasting for the third day already.

["Miners, who lost all hope to reach a deal with the government, demand to hold a nationwide referendum on confidence to authorities and on independence of the Donetsk coal region.

["Local metallurgists have supported the demands of the miners, but have nor yet decided whether to join them.

["'Metallurgists fully support all the demands of the miners. We also stand for a nationwide referendum on confidence to discredited authorities, for regional independence of Donbass', deputy head of the regional Trade Union of Metallurgists Viktor Shabalov told TASS.

["He hinted that the workers may decide to join the protest as 'our balanced approach to previous strikes resulted in that nobody pays attention to us altogether', he said, adding that the industry is on the brink of collapse.

["The Ukrainian government reacted to the strike only on the second day and sent Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pinzenik for talks. No official information on their results has been available."]

Miners Say Strike Due to Consumers' Debts

AU0906143393 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "They Stopped Shipments...."]

[Text] Since the beginning of June, eight mines of the production association "Donetskvuhillya" [Donetsk Coal] have halted coal shipments. As stated by the Donetsk strike committee, this action by the Donetsk miners is local in character and has nothing to do with politics. The coal miners were compelled to take such a step because fuel consumers owe them about 40 billion karbovantsi! The Avdiyivka Coal-Tar Chemical Plant and other such enterprises of the oblast are among the traditional debtors....

Several mines of the "Makiyivvuhillya" [Makiyivka Coal] and other production associations have stopped shipments of the fuel.

Donetsk Council Criticizes President

LD0906184993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1821 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk June 9 TASS—The Council of the Donetsk Region of Ukraine, where most coal miners and other industries went on strike protesting against skyrocketing prices, accused President Leonid Kravchuk and the government of incapability to take the country out of the crisis.

In a letter sent on Wednesday to the president, the parliament speaker and the prime minister the council blasted the so-called "measures aimed at resanating [as received] economy" and said the recent price hikes put most of the population behind the poverty level while local authorities became hostages of such decisions.

"Unpredictable consequences of decisions worked out by the leadership of the country, poorly thought-out actions show that the leadership does not know the life of regions and that the president and the government are incapable of taking the economy out of the crisis", the document says.

The council recalled that it had not supported the 1993 budget and had opposed the policy of the government towards the Donetsk Region, however it also requested the people to show patience and end the strike.

Trade Unions Decide on 'Pre-Strike Readiness'

LD0906185893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpt] The presidium of the Ukraine Federation of Trade Unions has taken a decision to introduce the state of pre-strike readiness in its member trade unions as from 10 June. The presidium has appealed for supporting the demands for the Supreme Council and the Cabinet of Ministers to ensure the normal work of industry; as the necessary material basis of well-being of the workers and of social protection of all other strata of the population, to introduce the minimum wage at a level no less than the poverty line established officially; and to revise current consumption fund restrictions.

This was reported by the press service of the Federation of the Trade Unions today. [passage omitted]

Kharkov Factory Workers Ready To Strike

WS1006113593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Workers at 31 Kharkov enterprises have expressed their readiness to go on strike. Employees at the Malyshev factory are demanding that a coherent program on overcoming the crisis be drafted and published, and that tariff rates corresponding to the cost of the consumer basic necessities basket calculated in convertible currency be introduced. Some shops have put forward a demand to create a single economic zone with Russia, dissolve the Supreme Soviet, and attach Eastern Ukraine to Russia. Workers at the machine tool-building plant and the Index Scientific-Production Association are urging that the CIS Charter be signed immediately; that deputy privileges be annulled; that the indexation of people's savings be carried out; corruption fought; the activity of trading cooperatives be banned for a transitional period, and that Ukraine should join the ruble zone.

Vice Prime Minister Urges 'Almost Martial Law'

WS1006084993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Speaking to a UNIAN correspondent, Vice Prime Minister Mykola Zhulynskyy said: "If extraordinary measures are not introduced now, we will not gain anything." Commenting on the miners' strike and issues to be discussed at the 15 June Supreme Soviet session, he underlined: "The policy must be strict and merciless. It

is time we carried out a firm, yet honest policy. If the policy is honest, the people will understand it. Today we must introduce rationing and a state of economic emergency, I would even call it an almost martial law. I am sure that we must convene different political parties and make agreements on declaring a moratorium on strikes, demonstrations, and political battles in order to concentrate attention on priorities."

Belarus

Kravchanka Sees 'No Alternative' to CIS

WS0906125993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] During the ceremony of receiving from Russian Ambassador Igor Saprykin documents certifying the ratification of the CIS Charter by the Russian legislature, Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka said: We have no alternative to the CIS with regard to forming a civilized market economy.

Russian Ambassador Describes Bilateral Ties

WS1006080093 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 May 93 p 2

[Interview with Igor Alexandrovich Saprykin, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Russia to Belarus, by correspondent Igor Filipenko; place and date not given: "Belarus and Russia Should Have Closer Relations"]

[Text] [Filipenko] Igor Alexandrovich, where did the Russian Foreign Ministry find an ambassador to Belarus?

[Saprykin] In Bangladesh. I have been working within the Foreign Ministry for 32 years. I have worked in England, the South African Republic, Australia, and Bangladesh. I am currently the ambassador to Belarus. For more than a year, I have led the state Russian delegation at the negotiations with the Republic of Belarus on political, economic, military, social, and humanitarian issues.

[Filipenko] What did you feel when you learned about your nomination to Belarus which was former a part of the USSR?

[Saprykin] I was pleased because I had never been to Minsk. After that meeting in Viskuli village, the history changed. The Republic of Belarus became an independent state. My efforts are directed at maintaining the friendliness and sincerity of our relations.

[Filipenko] You have declared that our bilateral relations are free of confrontation. Is this really possible?

[Saprykin] We have disputable issues but they can be solved. First, the ethnic relations. The exodus of Russians is to be found in every former Soviet republic. Nothing of the kind is happening in Belarus. For example, one and a half million Russians are living in Belarus but only 15 persons have asked for Russian citizenship. Do you not think that this figure would be greater if the Russians felt uncomfortable here?

Nevertheless, the issues of citizenship are not yet settled. The idea of a dual citizenship is in the air and can become the subject of negotiations.

We are holding intensive negotiations. In 1992, we concluded 37 intergovernmental and interstate agreements and treaties. Twenty three agreements are waiting to be signed. They address migrants' rights, copyright, cooperation in the sphere of higher education, science, sport, and other things.

Of greater concern to Belarus and Russia is the creation of a legal framework which could become a model for friendly relations between all former USSR states.

[Filipenko] Perhaps my next statement will be out of place but the family model is tainted by Moscow's economic egoism. Oil prices are going up, customs duties on raw materials and supplies are being introduced. All of this is affecting our economy, our lives....

[Saprykin] As for the oil, it is a known fact that oil production in Russia has drastically dropped, the old oil wells have been exploited and one cannot forecast new investments in the oil business. Moreover, Russia has its own problems with fuel supply. As you see, Russian oil policy is free of any evil intent.

I wish to add that trade within the CIS is based on prices which are much lower than the world market prices. In fact, Russia subsidizes the newly independent states. In 1992, we lost 17 billion rubles on such operations. Belarus has also its share in this sum. You should not forget such things.

Finally, the state is not a sole master of the economy. Oil business is controlled by Russian commercial structures. Belarusian entrepreneurs should establish business contacts with them.

Any major problems can be settled within the framework of our cooperation; the key is the political will to do so.

[Filipenko] By the way, who was the first to conclude the economic and military union between Belarus and Russia? Why does the first depend on the second?

[Saprykin] This was not stated on the political level. On 15 March, President Yeltsin forwarded a message to the heads of the CIS countries. The message contained two proposals:

1. To create an economic union which could later be transformed into a "Common Market" with single and currency customs regulations.

2. To bolster the system of joint security.

I think that the Belarusian legislature decided to enter this collective security system in response to Yeltsin's address. We will not link the two issues together.

However, if we speak about single economic zone, it is up to us to built it. If the Belarusian legislature ratifies the collective security treaty with provisions, and if legislation prohibits the stationing of troops outside Belarus, we will have to put up with this. There are different forms of participation in collective security—material resources and supplies, moral support, and political decisions.

[Filipenko] I guess, you found some time to learn the history, culture, and the national character of Belarus.

What was new for you? Any old conflicts which could influence our present relations?

[Saprykin] To a certain degree, I have gaps in my knowledge. The Soviet history did not devote much time to the national history of the republics.

I would not like to go deep into history. Why should we recall about the battle of Orsha? You should not bear old grudges against Russia. Does your family mark the anniversary when the older brother hit the younger one? There are politicians who want to see a clash between our people. I oppose them.

I admire the courage and strength of the Belarusian people. Belarusians have always hoped for a better future. This is an enviable feature.

[Filipenko] Nevertheless, there are problems which must be solved. Did you raise the issue concerning the return of cultural treasures to Belarus?

[Saprykin] No, the Belarusian side did not raise this issue. However, there exists a general approach to the return of cultural treasures which had been taken from Belarus during World War II. This is noted in the UNESCO Convention.

[Filipenko] What about the treasures which had been taken from Belarus before?

[Saprykin] I assume that Russia will follow the world practice. The British Museum does not return the valuables neither to India, nor to Greece.

[Filipenko] Thank you.

Moldova

Snegur Sees Economy on 'Brink of Bankruptcy'

AU0906122093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1931 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 8/6/1993—The demise of the crisis and relaunching the economy of Moldova assumes a character of becoming a problem for the existence of the state itself. If the government doesn't carry on an efficient programme based on prompt actions the crisis can lead to a collapse with unpredictable political and social consequences. The president of Moldova Mircea Snegur estimates in his address at the recent extraordinary session at the Executive Committee that "the economics of Moldova is on the brink of bankruptcy." According to the president of Moldova the situation is quite tragic, the actual cabinet of the ministers as well as the former ones failed to find the methods and mechanisms for stability, relaunching of the economy: the numerous programmes and decisions remaining only on paper. The declaration-warning from the president can be conceived as an alarm signal. The economic and social reality, during the last weeks offered numerous examples which can possibly alarm those in power. The impression aroused is that the officials of Chisinau let the unpredictable situation guide them not being able to anticipate extreme situations. Several weeks ago local investigators ascertained an exaggerated optimism from the authorities given the phenomena of the crisis but today they convey alarm signals. In the framework of the same session of the Executive Committee Snegur mentioned that "the tendencies of stabilization observed during the end of last year and the beginning of this year proved to be of short duration," but "the situation in agriculture is extremely concerning." Practically all the main directions of reforms are blocked. The denationalisation of property and its privatisation risks a demise which can lead to its definite compromise, foreign cash had not yet become a fact for supporting and promoting reforms. In fact, we are not simply speaking about the economic crisis but also on a crisis encompassing state power, appreciates Snegur in the named address. The vehement critics who received an audience betray a more sensitive intolerance given the government of Sangheli, at the same time pointing out a clash of opinions between different bodies of state powers, especially demonstrated in the position towards the activity of the State Department of Privatisation. Many investigators expressed their opinion that two lines of behaviour, two conceptions over reforms: one is conservative promoted by the government, and another represents moderate reformism in the person of the President, are visible. In this sense the launching of the idea of repeating the practice of special mandates in the aspect of reforming the economy, mandates are delegated to the president of the republic. According to President Mircea Snegur only one conclusion can be reached: the actual Parliament and Executive Committee propose and implement urgent extraordinary measures concerning overcoming the crisis or surrender the place to those who can do it. It is a categorical warning in the address from the cabinet of Sangheli, and to the major parliamentary club "Viata Satului," ["Village Life"] underline the local investigators. They also stressed that in the leading bodies controlling power, unpredictable events can happen in the near future.

Snegur Wants 'Urgent' Action Against Corruption

PM0806161593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Untitled ITAR-TASS report]

[Text] Moldovan President M. Snegur has stated that urgent measures are needed to eradicate the numerous cases of corruption and bribe-taking in the economy and the state apparatus.

Romanian Envoy Views 'Special Importance' of Ties

AU0906135893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1000 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 9/6/1993—The daily MOLDOVA SUVERANA printed in its Tuesday [8 June] issue under the headline "Romania and the Republic of Moldova Have Equally Their Own Place In Europe" an interview with Mihai Rujor, Romania's ad

interim charge d'affaires in the Republic of Moldova. "We are granting special importance to our relations with the Republic of Moldova, to their current and future evolution. Present realities register the existence of two Romanian sovereign and independent states. Obviously, relations between them are friendly and meant to bring them closer to the important flows of European economic and political life. The special character of these relations comes out obviously of a communion of nation, language and culture, and national history."

"A deeper collaboration between the two states is not directed against anyone. It can only lead to positive effects on stability and peace in the area," shows the Romanian diplomat in the interview granted to the mentioned daily. "The setting up of a fund in Romania's budget at the disposal of the Romanian government for activities related to the Republic of Moldova will positively reflect on the strengthening of collaboration between the two states in fields of joint interest. A deeper economic integration and stronger joint cultural and spiritual framework are apt to bring the two states closer to the important flows of European economic and political life and of European democratic values, Romania and Moldova having equally their own place in Europe," concluded the Romanian diplomat.

Kazakhstan

Talbott Expresses U.S. Readiness To Strengthen Ties

LD0906192493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1907 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Tatyana Zhurbenko, Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Almaty June 9 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev received a U.S. delegation led by U.S. special envoy and coordinator of the U.S. policy on new independent states, Strobe Talbott, on Wednesday [9 June].

The U.S. delegation includes representatives of the Council of National Security, State Department, the Defence and Finance Departments, the Central Intelligence Agency and other departments.

Talbott brought a personal message from the U.S. President Bill Clinton to the Kazakh president. On behalf of the U.S. Administration, Talbott expressed the readiness to develop relations with Kazakhstan on a priority basis and shared his opinions on prospects for mutually advantageous cooperation.

The U.S. is giving priority to the spheres of energy and finance, aircraft industry, medicine, ecology and problems of regional and global security.

He noted that the situation in the Central Asian region has its own specific features, which demands a clear separation of democratic processes underway in the region and opposite tendencies of enhancing the influence of Islamic fundamentalism.

Touching upon Kazakh-American relations, the president emphasised the expediency of expanding the volume of economic interaction between Kazakhstan and the United States and the soonest discussion, at the level of experts, of an aid package, providing for many billions of U.S. investments into the Kazakh economy.

The Kazakh president reiterated his determination to strictly observe previously adopted commitments on the strategic arms reduction treaty, adding that Kazakhstan would take an active part in negotiation processes on bilateral and multilateral levels on problems of nuclear disarmament and dismantling of weapons stationed in Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev Visits Eastern Kazakhstan

LD0906163993 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1400 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev flew from Almaty to Ust-Kamenogorsk on 9 June. He also visited Serebryansk. The program of the working visit of the head of state to eastern Kazakhstan includes visits to a number of large industrial enterprises and agricultural districts in the region. The president will also meet working collectives and [words indistinct].

Nazarbayev Decree, Resolution on New Council

LD0906182493 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Decree issued by President Nursultan Nazarbayev on formation of National Council for State Policy and proposed "regulation" on National Council for State Policy; place and date not given]

[Text] [no dateline as received] With the aim of setting up the conceptual foundations of the state policy in the process of formation and further development of sovereign Kazakhstan, ensuring civil peace and accord, and strengthening the democratic processes and social-political transformations of society in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, I decree:

1. To set up a consultative body under the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan—the National Council on State Policy—with the following composition:

—A. Kekilbayev (deputy chairman),

—K. Sultanov (deputy chairman)

—D. Naurazbayev (secretary)

—Zh. Abdildin, N. Aleksyeyenko, A. Alimzhanov, E. Asanbayev, G. Belger, A. Garkavets, B. Grigoryev, A. Elagin, E. Zhanguzarov, T. Zhukeev, C. Zimanov, M. Isinaliev, A. Kaydarov, M. Kozybayev, S. Murtaza, Y. Nurpeisov, B. Ogneva, S. Orazalinov, Y. Rakhmadiyev, K. Sagadiyev, P. Sabitova, K. Salgarin, A. Sarsenbayev, A. Sigayev, M. Simashko, M. Tazhin, M. Tatimov, K. Tokayev, N. Shaykenov, S. Shayachmetov, E. Shchegolichin. [all names as recieved]

2. To endorse a regulation on a National Council for State Policy (attached).

3. To deem invalid the resolution of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 12 August 1992, number 858, on setting up a consultative council under the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

4. To entrust the presidential apparatus and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the task of supporting the activity of the National Council.

[Signed] President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev

["Regulation" on National Council for State Policy]

1. A National Council for State Policy under the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan is a standing consultative body.

2. The main task of the National Council for State Policy is coordinating the work of elaborating scientifically based conceptual foundations of socio-political transformations of society, developing the democratic mentality of population, and coordinating activities of state and public organizations in achieving stability, inter-ethnic accord, and civil peace.

The main directions for its activities are:

—Evaluating socio-political processes and the geopolitical situation that is taking shape in the world and in the region and forecasting its further development and impact on the internal and external security of the state;

—Defining ways and forms of ideological support in realizing the Constitution and the president's domestic and foreign policy;

—Elaborating conceptual foundations for the ideological activity of the state;

—Setting up a new system of social values, democratic outlook, and rational socioeconomic behavior of the citizens;

—Ensuring state support for the spiritual revival of the nation, its culture, liberal arts, and education in general as well as the legal education of its citizens;

—Interacting with scientific and cultural intelligentsia, the public, and associations in overcoming the aftermath of totalitarianism in the mentality of people; and

—Strengthening the new constitutional order, democratic forms of management, civil accord, and peace in society.

With the aim of realizing these trends, the National Council for State Policy has the power:

—To set up working groups and commissions of highly qualified specialists, representatives of state and nongovernmental organizations, as well as foreign experts in developing corresponding conceptual projects and putting forward recommendations so as to accept on their basis the appropriate normative acts, long-term and short-term programs, and other documents upgrading the existing legislature;

—To exercise control over the implementation of decisions and recommendations that have been adopted by the council; and

—To carry out work, together with the departments and organizations involved, in explaining the meaning and importance of the elaborated projects through mass media, the bodies of executive power, and management by holding different kind of seminars, conferences, and meetings and sending the members of the working groups and other specialists to the sites.

3. The National Council for State Policy has the right:

—To seek and obtain from ministries, departments, other bodies of state administration, and heads of local administrations information reflecting their work in implementing the constitution and the president's internal and foreign policies and in politically supporting and deepening the socio-economic reform of society;

—To organize checks, within the entrusted tasks, on the implementation of the appropriate presidential decrees and resolutions, decisions by the cabinet of ministers, and decisions and recommendations by the council; and

—To examine the results of these checks and to take the necessary steps.

4. If necessary, the council organizes preliminary expert analysis of draft laws prepared by way of presidential legislative initiative, his draft decrees, and resolutions by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on individual issues of state policy.

5. The president of the Republic of Kazakhstan determines the quantitative and personal composition of the National Council for State Policy and endorses its plan of work. Meetings of the council are held once a quarter or when the need arises. The members of the council take part in its meetings with no right of replacement.

The decisions of the council are officially recorded.

The state councillor is the council's deputy chairman, and he coordinates the work of the council, its working groups and commissions.

6. The work of the National Council for State Policy is conducted on the basis of close cooperation with departments of the apparatus of the president and cabinet of ministers, committees of the Supreme Kenges of the Republic of Kazakhstan, state and non- state structures, and socio-political associations and organizations.

Nazarbayev Guarantees Safety of Western Investments

LD0906190993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1542 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Bondartsova and Gennadiy Lunev]

[Text] Almaty June 9 TASS—President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev assured Western businessmen that the safety of their investments is guaranteed by political stability and solid legal ground created in the republic. At a meeting with managers of the largest oil companies from the United States, Britain, Italy and some other states on Wednesday he stated that their cooperation with Kazakhstan sets a good example to all foreign investors.

President Nazarbayev expressed hope that the businessmen are aware of conditions of their partnership envisaging the construction of the objects of social sphere together with developing oil deposits.

"Agip" Vice-President Enzo Viscuzi,"BP-Sattoil" represenatative Edward Whitehead and some other participants in the meeting mentioned that developing of Kazakh oil is not an easy task, but their companies will do their utmost to realise the projects in time.

A preliminary agreement was signed between Kazakhstan and Western companies on the creation of a

consortium for combined research and development of Caspian shelf within the limits of Kazakh territory.

Public Leader Urges Unity, Supports Reform

MK0906105093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 3

[Interview with Serik Abdrakhmanov, chairman of the Kazakhstan People's Unity Alliance, by Sergey Kozlov, under "Kazakhstan" rubric; place and date not given: "'If Nazarbayev Is With Us, the Republic Would Only Benefit.' Chairman of People's Unity Alliance Wants To Influence President]

[Text] Serik Abdrakhmanov, chairman of a recently founded political organization—the Kazakhstan People's Unity Alliance [KPUA]—is a prominent figure on the local political scene. A former first secretary of the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee, removed from office following the well-known tragic events of December 1986, Abdrakhmanov reemerged in politics after Gennadiy Kolbin's departure. Over the past three years Abdrakhmanov was Nazarbayev's adviser and was then elected a member of parliament. The KPUA, which he established three months ago, continues to be a subject of much speculation and is considered a "dark horse" among Kazakhstan parties and movements.

[Kozlov] You and your associates have decided to assert yourselves as a political organization, although you must be aware that the "stage" is almost fully packed—with the exception, perhaps, of the "green" sector. How do you plan to attract supporters?

[Abdrakhmanov] The idea of unity became the most understandable in Kazakhstan only recently, and for the most part our supporters are rallying around this idea. It is also gratifying that the composition of our supporters is multi-ethnic. Our main goal is to propose to society a unifying program leading to progress and prosperity of our rich Kazakhstan land so that our society and all of its members should feel they are full-fledged citizens.

[Kozlov] Excuse me, but such ideas are nothing new and are present in virtually all programs of our current political associations....

[Abdrakhmanov] Of course, but the main question is how these ideas are translated into life.

We have plenty of programs, this is correct; one could even arm himself with the Gorbachev food program and move forward. There are no mistakes in them, but neither is there a mechanism for their implementation. And in our ranks there are not a few people of action—these are politicians with a rich experience, people from the apparatus; they have a clear conscience and long practice in organizing the masses, and they possess authority and competence. Our distinctive feature, in contrast to other "unifying movements," consists precisely in the level of realization of our programs. But there are also other features which, I think, set us apart. For example, our intention to fight the corrupt part of society, the mafia-style structures, our determination to enforce genuine legality, establishing a real state based on the rule of law. This is not a mere declaration, but an urge to act relying for the most part on intellect, on advanced ideas. Yes, we are seeking to raise the masses, but this is not an end in itself. We are rather interested in individuals, who would be capable of leading thousands.

[Kozlov] There are still many rumors around the KPUA, in particular that this alliance is a suit to match President Nazarbayev's tie. Judging by the course of events and the fact that you have proclaimed the president to be your formal leader, this does not seem so groundless after all, does it?

[Abdrakhmanov] I am making no secret of the fact that I recognize Nazarbayev as leader of our alliance. After all, the idea of forming it emerged, and our organizing group was established, only after a very strong and urgent appeal from the president last October. On many counts I agree with the president and his program, with his positions, but not on everything—far from it. If Nazarbayev is with us, Kazakhstan would only benefit. And if we manage to influence him, especially in areas where our views diverge, this would be a victory for us and for our supporters. For example, this refers to the president's cadre policy: Some in his present entourage are "living off the reform," "chewing" on it, shamelessly copying Russia's laws. This retinue only kowtows to the president, exploits his popularity, his authority, and his name, without adding anything to it. Primarily these are representatives of the old nomenklatura, especially those who come from Gosplan, who, with the exception of dogmatism and an ability to distribute funds, cannot do anything—they are the main hindrance for our social progress.

[Kozlov] How would you account for the fact that none of the large (by Kazakhstan standards) parties intends to form organized factions in parliament? Moreover, no "partisan" voices at all are being heard within the walls of the Supreme Soviet.

[Abdrakhmanov] I think that with the present composition of the Supreme Soviet in general or with the help of a particular faction very little could be changed, although the possibility of conducting political work there must not be ignored, must not be missed. Moreover, it seems to me that at present many hopes are being pinned on representatives of the executive branch. Today, for instance, people from the apparatus are coming to us; I see nothing shameful about this—after all, there are honest people too in the apparatus. But as soon as the president's favorable attitude to our movement became known, some officials, including certain heads of administrations, literally rushed to us, apparently seeking to turn this organization into a kind of veil behind which cadre reshuffles could be carried out, and so forth. This intention is fairly obvious. As for parliament, with its sessions that are almost all alike.... How is it possible for one session to consider 90 draft laws? It is clear that this cannot be done efficiently. And this probably explains the existing attitude to parliament.

[Kozlov] Some tend to regard the economic part of the KPUA's program as populist. How would you explain this attitude?

[Abdrakhmanov] We believe that economic reforms should become center stage of our domestic policy. Unfortunately, much time has been lost in addressing economic problems. For example, the first stage of privatization in Kazakhstan, in my opinion, proceeded in a criminal way. I am not against privatization, but a substantial part of state property has been grabbed by various rogues and the people have in no way benefited from it. The extreme "fluctuations" in economic policy are discouraging; this, given that there are shining examples from world experience in undertaking the same privatization programs.

Sometimes our reformers simply need to use their brains, go to the library and borrow from the experience that has been accumulated. As for populism, there is not more of it in our program than in any others. A certain radicalism, yes. Otherwise the people (in my opinion, we are on the eve on a new October 1917) could use sledgehammers to count who has grabbed what and how much, if they feel that they have been treated unfairly.

Pay Complaints Behind Troops' Actions at Baykonur

PM1006111393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 8

[Georgiy Loriya report: "Space Center Losses Total 100 Million Rubles"]

[Text] Kazakhstan—Three barracks, two headquarters buildings, and a club house burned down, two warehouses burglarized, and two stores ransacked—these are some of the results of the rioting in the Baykonur construction units. Preliminary estimates put the damage at 100 million rubles.

Unlike last year's riot, the soldiers made no demands. The rioters simply stripped the stores of everything that came to hand—spirits, chocolate, footwear, and new uniforms.

According to the information available, one of the soldiers received a bullet wound and several others were injured.

Last year the space center's construction units switched to Kazakhstani jurisdiction. The draftees posted there are now drawn from this republic. But many of the officers and warrant officers are Russian citizens. Having become "Kazakhstanis" against their will, they now receive far less pay than they would in the Russian Army. For instance, the salary of a colonel heading a construction main administration is less than that earned by Russian warrant officers at Baykonur. It is only slightly more than the pay received by enlisted men serving here under contract.

A special commission has arrived from Almaty for a "debriefing session." It comprises representatives of the Kazakhstani Supreme Soviet, Defense Ministry, and Ministry of Internal Affairs. Meeting with the commission members, construction unit officers and warrant officers demanded that their pay be brought up to the Russian level within a month or that the subunits be transferred to Russian jurisdiction. Otherwise they intend to leave the service.

It is likely that parliamentary delegations from Kazakhstan and Russia will visit the space center in the very near future. They will draw up documents for the expected meeting between N. Nazarbayev and B. Yeltsin.

In total, around 500 people of different nationalities took part in the riots. A group of supposed ringleaders has been arrested, and several dozen soldiers are on the lam.

Tajikistan

Afghanistan Warned About Border 'Provocations'

LD0906191093 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] A news conference was held at the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Tajikistan today. Zafar Saidov, head of the ministry's Press Department, told journalists that Mohammad Omar Asir, acting consul of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, was summoned before First Deputy Foreign Minister Erkin Rahmatulloyev on 8 June. He was handed a note of protest and was told that recently the command of the 55th Infantry Division of the Defence Ministry of the Islamic State of Afghanistan has been actively taking part in organizing and arming the forces opposing the legitimate government of Tajikistan, who are stationed on the territory of the neighboring state.

The ministry possesses reliable information on this. For example, how can one explain the availability of armor for the opposition forces? Another example: The command of one of the border units of the Islamic State of Afghanistan in Darwaz region of Badakhshan is engaged in similar activities.

All these testify to the fact that the armed units of the government of Afghanistan are taking part in such provocations. This is despite of the repeated statements made by official circles of the Islamic State of Afghanistan on non-involvement in armed provocations on the border.

The Tajik Foreign Ministry therefore warns that such actions are fraught with serious consequences, and declares that Tajikistan, as a member of the treaty on collective security between the CIS countries, retains the right to act in accordance with the provisions stipulated in the treaty. According to these provisions crushing blows will be inflicted with joint efforts against border violators and those who are disrupting the peace and tranquillity of the citizens of the country.

The Tajik diplomat expressed the hope that the Afghan side will take all necessary measures to ensure that the regular armed forces of Afghanistan will not in the future, directly or indirectly, interfere in the internal affairs of the sovereign and independent state of Tajikistan.

Pakistani, Saudi Military Said Training Opposition

PM0906160193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 3

[Vasiliy Fatigarov report: "Mojahedin Want To Breach the Border: Pakistani and Afghan Instructors Training Gunmen for Invasion of Tajikistan Territory"]

[Excerpt] Dushanbe—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reported on the alarming situation on the Tajik-Afghan border in yesterday's issue. Although the night of 7-8 June was calm on the whole, Major General Anatoliy Chechulin, commander of the Russian Federation border troops in Tajikistan, does not idealize the situation and describes it as very difficult. The mountain passes been open since the spring, and groups of gunmen, numbering up to 350 and armed with small-arms weapons and recoilless guns, have therefore been frequent "guests" on the territory of Tajikistan.

According to current information, a large number of Chinese-made weapons and rockets are being bought up by members of these bandit formations, the arms reaching the gunmen via a "third party"—from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. From those same countries also come military instructors to Afghanistan who, again according to current information, are aiding the Tajik opposition. It is also alarming that almost half of all the gangs trying to breach the border, which is guarded by Russian border troops, are mojahedin. [passage omitted]

Komarov Gorge Liberated; Opposition Leader Escapes

LD0906170393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1402 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By KHOVAR correspondent Mukhammadato Sultonov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe June 9 TASS—A major operation carried out by Tajik Government troops against militants of the opposition, ravaging in the Komarov Gorge of the Garm Region, has been completed in the Pamir highlands.

For the past six months armed clashes had been going in the region. After successful operations, carried cut by government troops, the gorge was liberated and leader of the opposition, Rizvon, escaped to the Komsomolabad Region, accompanied by his associates.

The restoration of vitally important communications began in the liberated region. Dovlatdzhon Sharipov, chief of the police of the Garmsky Region, reported that flour, sugar, butter and other essentials had been delivered to the region. Highlanders residing in the villages of Kushumbog, Pingon, Sayed, Nukheog and others began agricultural works.

Interior Ministry Denounces Amnesty International Report

LD1006102793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0938 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe June 10 TASS—The Tajik authorities have described a report of Amnesty International about facts of massive human rights violations and extrajudicial persecution of compatriots, allegedly taking place in the republic, as an attempt to deceive world public opinion, says a statement of the Tajik Interior Ministry published here today.

The statement stresses that all the accusations of that human rights organisation are "of a slanderous and falsified nature, because they are based on rumours and conjectures of enemies of the nation, primarily leaders of the Tajik opposition, who formed a so- called government in exile". At the same time, according to authors of the statement, none of Amnesty International experts has visited Tajikistan since the restoration of the constitutional system there. Otherwise, "the human rights champions could have looked through numerous original documents in the possession of the government and seen for themselves, that it is not pro-communist forces, but Islamic fundamentalists calling themselves fighters for democracy who committed senseless killings and staged genocide against their own people, which led to numerous casualties among their compatriots."

The press centre admitted the fact that a group of active members of Tajik opposition parties and the Nadzhoti Vatan (Salvation of Motherland) organisation were arrested, but stated that their cases are now under investigation not because of their political convictions, but for specific criminal actions staged by them, the unleashing of the civil war and the attempts to forcibly overthrow the constitutional system.

"The Tajik law enforcement agencies have enough other facts on the crimes committed by the democratic-Islamic opposition. Contrary to provocative statements and actions of Amnesty International and similar instigatory organisation, all the investigation materials will be turned over to the world community after the investigation is over," says the statement of the press centre of the Tajik Interior Ministry.

Armenia

Kozyrev, Barannikov Talk With Ter-Petrosyan

LD0906222393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2145 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Tigran Liloyan and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Yerevan, 10 Jun—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Security Minister Viktor Barannikov arrived in Yerevan tonight. The Russian ministers held a meeting with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan in his state residence. Later, A. Kozyrev and V. Barannikov met the leaders of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic—acting parliamentary chairman Georgiy Petrosyan and State Defense Committee Chairman Robert Kocharyan. Questions concerning a peaceful settlement to the Karabakh problem within the framework of the recent tripartite initiative and proposals made by the CSCE were discussed.

Andrey Kozyrev and Viktor Barannikov arrived in the capital of Armenia following their working visit to Georgia, in the course of which problems of a peaceful settlement for the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and Russian-Georgian relations were discussed.

Papazyan 'Optimistic' About Karabakh Settlement

LD1006021293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0055 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 10 Jun—After Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's meeting was completed in Yerevan today with Andrey Kozyrev and Viktor Barannikov there was mainly discussion of questions connected with the latest CSCE initiative on a settlement of the Karabakh problem. This was announced in an ITAR-TASS interview by Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan.

This initiative, he added, has already been given a positive response by Armenia and Azerbaijan, and we calculate that it will receive the same reaction from the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership as well. We have tried, together with the Russian side, to find the "weak" sides of the document submitted by the CSCE and ways of strengthening it. We also hope, V. Papazyan said, that the Russian ministers' meeting with the Nagorno-Karabakh leaders will also bear fruit.

"Perhaps I am excessively optimistic," V. Papazyan said, "but I believe that there is now a good chance for resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and restoration of peace in the region."

During the Armenian-Russian talks there was also discussion of questions of bilateral relations between Russia and Armenia. Vahan Papazyan said that relations between the two states were developing normally. We are building our relations on a mutually-favorable, equitable basis, the Armenian minister noted, and the Russian side is reacting in a clear-cut way to all the problems facing Armenia. "For its part, Armenia sees in Russia a good workmate." The minister noted Russia's role in the process of a Karabakh settlement. That is why, he concluded in the ITAR-TASS interview, the present visit of the Russian delegation will yield "a big result."

Karabakh Official on CSCE Plan, Gyandzha Events

NC0906172593 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Karabakh is now more concerned with the developments in Azerbaijan, said Manvel Sargisyan, Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's [NKR] permanent representative in Armenia, in a statement to AZG newspaper correspondent yesterday.

Commenting on the new initiative document sent by the president of the CSCE, Sargisyan noted that it was again sent without an address on it. What is more, the previously promised appended letter was not sent to Acting Chairman of the NKR Supreme Soviet Georgiy Petrosyan.

In an interview to NOYAN TAPAN news agency, Sargisyan noted that the new document does not differ in principle from the three-plus-one draft, particularly with regard to the security guarantees for Karabakh following the withdrawal of troops from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon. Only the terminology has been changed.

However, he noted that Stepanakert will carefully examine the document and will give its reply on 11 June.

Sargisyan also noted that developments in Azerbaijan show that the government has lost control over its territory, and it is possible that the Gyandzha incidents were instigated by the Azerbaijani leadership to impede the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict.

Defense Ministry 'Worried' Over Azerbaijan

NC0906180293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Armen Dulyan, head of the Armenian Defense Ministry press service, has said the Armenian military establishment is worried by developments in Azerbaijan.

He said armed formations have apparently appeared in Azerbaijan that do not submit to the republic's leadership. Therefore, he added, provocative attacks on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border—where relative calm has prevailed of late—cannot be ruled out.

Dulyan thinks reports by Azerbaijani sources, including AZERTAC, on alleged aggressive action by Armenia against Azerbaijan's Tauzskiy Rayon are no coincidence. These are propaganda measures preceding concrete action, concluded Dulyan.

Azerbaijan

Baku Welcomes CSCE, U.S. Initiative on Karabakh

LD0906173293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By AZERTADZH correspondent Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva]

[Text] Baku, 9 June (TASS)—The Azerbaijani side welcomes the initiative of the nine CSCE member countries and the United States, who proposed at a meeting of "the nine" in Rome on 3-4 June a new "schedule of immediate measures" for implementing UN Security Council resolution 822/93 and renewing the talks process under CSCE auspices. This is said in a statement by the Azerbaijan President's press service issued today through AZERTADZH. This proposal, the document says, creates a new possibility for the withdrawal of Armenian troops from occupied Azerbaijan territories and the establishment of peace and stability in the region. Azerbaijan also considers that in present conditions the responsibility of the sides—and first and foremost of Armenia—for the implemention of all the clauses of the "schedule of immediate measures" is growing many times over, the statement stresses.

People's Front Supporters Surround Parliament

TA0906204393 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] The parliament building in Baku has been surrounded by the armed supporters of the Azerbaijani People's Front. Moreover, tanks have been placed in the city's entrances and exits.

The events leading to the siege of the parliament in Baku developed as follows: One hundred and fifty deputies belonging to the communist bloc in the Supreme Soviet, whose activities have actually been stopped in Azerbaijan, went to parliament and collected one-third of the votes stipulated by the Constitution to reconvene the Supreme Soviet. Following this, People's Front supporters surrounded the parliament building, housing about 150 deputies, and closed off the exits. People's Front supporters also announced that they will not lift the siege until the parliament discusses the events in Gyandzha and adopts a decision.

Supporters Disperse

TA1006114793 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Azerbaijani People's Front supporters, who had surrounded the parliament building in Baku, have ended their actions. The People's Front supporters, who are backing President Abulfaz Elchibey, started to disperse during the morning hours. The tension in Baku reportedly continuing, and security measures implemented at key points have not yet been lifted. [passage omitted]

The initiatives of the communist deputies to reconvene the Supreme Soviet is supported by Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet Chairman Gaydar Aliyev, and although Aliyev is his former political opponent, Elchibey officially offered him the position of prime minister. Aliyev has not yet given a definite answer to Elchibey's proposal. It is reported that Aliyev, who had a very long meeting with Elchibey last night, is thir king the matter over.

Troops belonging to former Army Corps Commander Suret Guseynov, who started a rebellion in Gyandzha on 4 June, are continuing their actions.

New Commission To Investigate Gyandzha Incidents

LD0906192993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1908 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Baku June 9 TASS—Azeri parliamentarians did not trust the report of the commission created by President Abulfaz Elchibey on the tragic events in the city of Gyandzha and created another commission which is to investigate the reasons of the bloodshed.

The decision was adopted on Wednesday after the interior, security and defence ministers reported to parliament.

Lawmakers also asked the president to declare amnesty to all those who participated in the clash. They called on the conflicting parties to reconcile.

Georgia

Further on Visit by Kozyrev, Barannikov, Others

Shevardnadze Satisfied With Talks

LD0906162593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1505 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] During his visit to the capital of Georgia, which lasted several hours, Andrey Kozyrev had a two-hour talk with Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state, behind closed doors. Representatives of both sides then joined the talk. The meeting discussed issues concerning settlement of the Abkhazian conflict and the resumption of humanitarian aid for Sukhumi and Tkvarcheli, and put the final touches to the comprehensive agreement between Russia and Georgia, so that it will be ready for signing by the time Boris Yeltsin arrives in Georgia.

After the meeting, talking to journalists, Eduard Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks and assessed them as fruitful.

Andrey Kozyrev met Georgian Foreign Minister Alexandre Chikvaidze. Viktor Barannikov had a talk with Irakli Batiashvili, chairman of the Committee on Information and Security. Boris Gromov met Defense Minister Giorgi Karkarashvili.

After the talks with the leadership of Georgia, Andrey Kozyrev left for Gudauta, accompanied by top officials and competent experts. At the same time a delegation of the Republic of Georgia left for Sukhumi. According to the schedule, an inspection tour of Sukhumi will be made in late afternoon. Also planned are conversations with Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, with members of the Committee of National Unity of Abkhazia, and with representatives of the Salvation Committee of Abkhazia and the population of Sukhumi.

Andrey Kozyrev and other officials are expected to leave for Yerevan at 2000.

Kozyrev Proposes 'Trilateral' Group

LD0906184893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1811 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgy Shmelyov]

[Text] Gudauta June 9 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev proposed to create a trilateral Russian-Georgian-Abkhazian commission under the UN auspices which could guarantee a ceasefire in the zone of conflict.

"I believe it necessary to create a trilateral commission under the UN auspices which could guarantee a ceasefire (in Abkhazia)", he said on Wednesday [9 June] before meeting Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba.

The minister said the ceasefire is in the interests of all the parties.

"We intend to reach concrete decisions so that the Georgian and Abkhazian sides confirm their guarantees of an armistice", he said adding that his talks with Georgian leaders were held in the same way as envisaged by Yeltsin-Shevardnadze communique signed in Moscow.

The most important problems of the Georgian-Abkhazian settlement include a ceasefire, humanitarian aid deliveries and work on all documents necessary for signing a treaty between Georgia and Russia, according to Kozyrev.

Among the conditions for normalising relations the minister listed peace in Abkhazia and improvement of the situation in South Ossetia (which makes part of Georgia) where an armed conflict with Georgians was put out. A number of other problems is to be solved Kozyrev said, adding that "today we made another step in this direction".

He stressed that Georgia should preserve its territorial integrity, but Abkhazia must be guaranteed the status of an autonomy and corresponding rights.

"Georgia plays an important role in Russian foreign policy, but relations are impeded by the conflicts in Abkhazia and Ossetia. It is necessary to urgently solve all problems and open all gates for large-scale partnership, cooperation and alliance" between the two countries, the minister said.

Shevardnadze, Barannikov Assess Talks

LD1006104093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Excerpts] We will start our Rush Hour news bulletin with the summary of the visit of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to Georgia. We will also have a direct report from Sukhumi about what happened there yesterday and how Kozyrev's visit, which started yesterday, continued in Sukhumi. [passage omitted]

This is how the negotiations were summed up by Eduard Shevardnadze, the head of the state of Georgia; Boris Pastukhov, Russia's deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Viktor Barannikov, the minister of security. Here is the recording, which was prepared by our colleague Ramaz Kartvelishvili.

[Begin recording] [Shevardnadze, in Russian] I am pleased with the results of the negotiations and the state of relations. The key treaties and agreements have not been drawn up or signed yet. We talked about a ceasefire, and it is a reality. We are on our way to finding such a mechanism. We have asked the United Nations to assign observers to us. This is a reality as well. We must succeed in stopping this bloodshed and then proceed with a peaceful process. We have talked about it, and this is a simultaneous process.

[Pastukhov, in Russian] The issues involved in agreements on relations between the states of Russia and Georgia, include those of the status of border troops and most importantly the cease-fire and peace. In my opinion, [words indistinct]. This is the basis of the talks.

[Barannikov, in Russian] You know, I am the security minister, and my attitude toward these instances is: when I have specific documents and materials in hand, then I can see through them, but I cannot give [not further specified] without proper consideration, as a lawyer. We also talked about earlier instances. Today, we are having a different conversation. We agreed that first of all, we must make a decision and work out the cease-fire, separating the sides. [passage indistinct] I think this is the basis, and economic and interstate relations will follow from there.

[Shevardnadze, in Russian] Additional mechanisms will be worked out. These will include joint patrolling, joint diving, control, and rendering humanitarian aid, not only to Tkvarcheli, but to the Gali rayon as well. You know what the situation is like there now. [end recording]

Kozyrev Meets Abkhazia's Ardzinba

LD0906195193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1850 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Georgy Shmelyov]

[Text] Gudauta, 9 June—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev expressed hope that the arrival of the Russian delegation in Georgia will help the peaceful settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. After the end of his meeting with Abkhazian Supreme Soviet Chairman Vladislav Ardzinba, Andrey Kozyrev stated that from now on Russia's position would be "tough, and relations with both sides will depend on their readiness to go along the path of a peaceful settlement of the conflict."

At our talks in Tbilisi and Gudauta, we made it clear that we will strictly insist on a cease-fire, and all other problems, including defining the status of Abkhazia, will be resolved in a peaceful situation, the Russian minister stressed. The Russian side stated that it is resolutely against the use of force in resolving the conflict. A cease-fire is an acceptable solution for Russia, Andrey Kozyrev stated.

In a few days, talks will start in Moscow between the sides' representative delegations. And Russia's attitude, the minister repeated, will be determined by their position on the problem of a peaceful settlement.

One of the main themes of the conversations in Gudauta, the minister continued, was the problem of giving humanitarian aid to the population of Tkvarcheli. On this problem we received positive replies in Tbilisi, the minister noted, and we expect the same from Abkhazia.

As regards a new summit meeting, Andrey Kozyrev noted, it will take place after "a guaranteed cease-fire" is successfully worked out.

In the opinion of Vladislav Ardzinba, Georgia is not ready for a peaceful settlement in Abakhzia. That is why, he believes, a cease- fire must be "part of the issue of an all-encompassing settlement."

Kozyrev, Chikvaidze Discuss Abkhazia

LD0906212193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpt] A brief visit by head of Russian diplomacy Kozyrev to Tbilisi started with a 30-minute talk with Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze. As Mr. Chikvaidze told correspondents, the Abkhazian conflict causes concern within the international community, and Russia cannot ignore it. That is why Moscow seems interested in stopping of bloodshed in Abkhazia.

The head of Georgian foreign policy emphasized that the war in Abkhazia became a subject of special discussion at the Vancouver meeting between the Russian and U.S. Presidents, Yeltsin and Clinton. Mr. Chikvaidze said that yesterday the U.S. President's adviser and special mission envoy [name indistinct] mentioned during a conversation with me that Bill Clinton pays great attention to the settlement of the Abkhazian conflict, even after the Vancouver meeting. His letter sent to the Russian president is proof of this. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Informs Deputies on Talks

LD0906202893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Parliament Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze today informed deputies about his meetings with a visiting Russian delegation. He noted in particular that the meetings actually continued the dialogue that began in Moscow on 14 May.

The sides confirmed that they are ready for a cease-fire in Abkhazia. Concern was expressed at cease-fire violations and both sides considered the violations unacceptable. It was mentioned that before UN observers arrive the two sides should devise a mechanism for implementing the cease-fire agreement. What will this mechanism be like? It will be specified after the delegation holds talks in Sukhumi and Gudauta.

We have agreed that these days work will be completed on the package of the Russo-Georgian treaty. As it has been pointed out, ensuring the cease-fire will undoubtedly create favorable conditions for signing the treaty and vice versa, the signing of the treaty will be an additional stimulus for the peaceful settlement of the Abkhazian conflict, the establishment of peace in Transcaucasia and in Caucasus as a whole.

When speaking about humanitarian aid, the head of state said that the following decision was made: Humanitarian aid will be provided to Tkvarcheli, Sukhumi and the Gagra region. In addition, an agreement was reached on automobile and rail transport being used for this purpose, and accordingly a joint guard will be appointed. I think, Eduard Shevardnadze said, that this meeting was necessary and fairly useful. It can be considered as another step on the way to the improvement and consolidation of Russo-Georgian relations. [passage omitted]

Chikvaidze Summons Russian Envoy Over Abkhazia

LD0906153693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0730 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze has invited to the ministry the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to Georgia, Mr. Zemskiy, in connection with the deteriorating situation in Abkhazia.

The minister briefed the ambassador on incidents of gross violations by the Abkhazian separatists of the cease-fire agreement reached in Moscow, which were clearly provoked by the Armed Forces of Russia. Mercenaries illegally penetrate Georgia, particularly Abkhazia, from the territory of the Russian Federation and then concentrate in areas of hostility with the help of Russian military planes and helicopters.

It is also clear that the Gudauta group and their abettors are planning to escalate the conflict, capitalizing on the Georgian side's strict adherence to the agreement.

Chikvaidze reminded the ambassador that it was not the first time that the separatists, who rely on the support of their allies, had violated agreements, challenging not only Georgian interests but also decisions on Abkhazia by the supreme bodies of power in Russia. The minister stated that Russia must categorically demand that the Gudauta side observe the agreement and take the necessary measures to prevent the separatists from aggravating the situation.

Zemskiy reported that Russia was aware of the resumption of hostilities by the separatists. [passage omitted]